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THE STAIR ANNALS

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JOHN DALRYMPLE,

SECOND EARL OF STAIR, K.T.

FIELD MARSHAL OF THE FORCES,

&c. &c. &c.

ANNALS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

VISCOUNT

AND THE

FIRST AND SECOND

EARLS OF STAIR

BY

JOHN MURRAY GRAHAM

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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THE STAIR ANNALS.

SECOND EARL OF STAIR.

CHAPTER IX.

Lord Stair's household at Paris—Captain James Gardiner—The Pretender removed across the Alps—Stair and the Jacobites—The Duke of Montrose and Rob Roy—Arrest of Lord Peterborough in Italy on the pretext of a design to assassinate the Pretender—Despatch of Secretary Addison demanding reparation—Disputes between Spain and the Emperor—Diplomatic efforts of Stair to secure the co-operation of the Regent Orleans against Spain and Alberoni—Letters of Mr Addison to Lord Stair.

The months of February, March, and April of the year 1717 were spent by Lord Stair in London. He experienced on his journey thither some incivility from the French officials at Montreuil and Calais, which was apologised for on being made known to the Regent. Upon his return to Paris in May he was made the bearer of a present of Tokay wine from King George to the Duke of Orleans.

In the summer he was joined at Paris by Lady

Stair and Miss (or Mrs) Primrose, upon whose arrival he took a country house in the neighbourhood of Paris as a residence in summer and autumn. The Stair Papers contain numerous recommendations about this time to his protection and hospitality, and the expense of his *ménage* (which he complains of as being comparatively greater at Paris than in London) must have been considerable. His family included, besides the two ladies, the secretary of the embassy, Mr Thomas Crawford, Captain James Gardiner,* who appears to have superintended his household and acted as a kind of civil aide-de-camp, and occasionally his brother, the Hon. George Dalrymple, a baron of the Scottish Exchequer.

Although the fortunes of the Jacobites, both at home and on the Continent, seemed to be now at zero, Stair's arrangements for obtaining intelligence of their movements were kept in full operation. From the British ministers at the small Italian courts he received constant information of their proceedings. The Chevalier himself, in company with Lord

* Captain Gardiner, who was killed many years afterwards at the battle of Prestonpans, had been taken into Lord Stair's favour and friendship when a cornet in the Scots Greys. In 1715 Stair procured for him a Captain's commission in a dragoon regiment commanded by Colonel Stanhope (afterwards Earl of Harrington), in which he was subsequently promoted to a majority. He resided under Lord Stair's roof during the greater part of the time of the embassy, and especially signalised himself as his lordship's Master of the Horse on the occasion of the ambassador's magnificent entry in February 1719. He was a man of fashion and gallantry; and we may infer from the observations of his biographer, Dr Doddridge, that "whatever wise and good examples he might find in the family where he had the honour to reside," Gardiner's life at the dissolute court of the Regent Orleans was not a model of virtue. His celebrated "conversion" is said to have taken place in Paris in July 1719, which was about the time Lord Stair left France at the close of his embassy.

Mar, crossed into Italy by the pass of the Mont Cenis, on his way to the Papal dominions, in February 1717. He is described as having been, when leaving Avignon, plunged in deep melancholy. At Turin he was courteously received by his royal relatives and treated *en roi*. The commencement of his residence at Rome is thus recorded by the British minister at Venice:* "The Pretender's sanctity of life, and his attending punctually the functions, gives great joy to his Holiness; but his followers gave great scandal at Pesaro by the little respect they showed either to religion or the ladies. Most of them left him before he went to Rome; some say out of discontent for his making that journey, others, that they are gone to serve the king of Sweden, or the Czar. Mr Hay, Lord Kinnoull's son, is now the chief man about him at Rome. He is free in bestowing British honours on foreigners, and has given the *green ribbon* to cardinal Gaultier's brother, with the title of Lord Dundee. The cardinals give him the right hand when they are out of their habits. The Pope has appointed Don Carlo to attend him everywhere, and given him Monsigneur Bronchini for his instructor in antiquities. Some others are to teach him the use of reliques. Last week they carried him to see the reliques at St Peter's. When he approached them, M. Marescotti gave him the blessed glove to touch them, which he did very nicely, considering he was bred in France, where little is to be seen that way that is polite. Southesk, Kilsyth, Forester, G. Hamilton and several others came hither [to Venice]

* Stair Papers, vol. x.

but were soon obliged to retire. Another of them came hither from Vienna; I could never learn his name; he is a west-country gentleman. I hear he is wearied of rebellion, and longs for an act of grace. I hope we shall be little more troubled with them here."

In a despatch of the 11th of July, Secretary Addison informs Lord Stair that his conduct in relation to the strengthening the good intelligence between his Majesty and the Czar had been entirely approved of; and that the instances used by him for sending out of the French dominions the *late* Duke of Ormond and Earl Mar were very agreeable to his Majesty, as were likewise his applications for hastening the demolition of Mardyck, and for the release of English sailors condemned to the galleys.*

Lord Mar was unable to amuse himself in Italy in the same edifying manner as his relic-inspecting master, and, after he had gone there, soon applied to the Regent for permission to return to France, on the plea of his health requiring him to drink the waters of Bourbon. This application having been refused, the Secretary of State (Addison) writes to Stair:—

". . . I am now to acquaint your Excellency that it is with great satisfaction the king finds the good disposition of the Regent, and that his Majesty takes it as a very particular mark of friendship his

* Stair Papers, vol. ix. Upon the change in the ministry in the spring of 1717, occasioned by the retirement of Walpole and Lord Townshend, the Earl of Sunderland and Mr Addison became principal Secretaries of State, and General Stanhope (soon after created Viscount) became Prime Minister.

not suffering the *late** Lord Mar to go to the waters of Bourbon unless he had been able to produce his Majesty's passport; and it is no less agreeable to his Majesty to hear of the Regent's late endeavours to discover and drive out of the French dominions such others of the rebels as may be still in that kingdom. As to what you say of the Czar, there are many reasons that incline the king to believe he is not so indifferent in the case of the Pretender as he would have the Regent think; however, his Majesty is glad to find that what the Czar has thought fit to declare on that head to the Regent is agreeable to his Royal Highness. . . ."

Sir David Dalrymple's view (in a letter to the ambassador in August) of the bearing of foreign politics upon the affairs of Britain was, that the divisions at home could not be very dangerous if the state of affairs abroad hindered the Popish powers from uniting in support of the Pretender, and animating his friends within the kingdom. Of the truth of this observation an instance occurred in the failure of the attempt of the king of Sweden in the beginning of this year to raise an insurrection in Britain, while Spain and France had their hands full of continental complications. The intrigues of his minister, Gortz, with the Czar, of which a good deal was heard at this time, were effectually crushed by the seizure in London of the Swedish ambassador and all his papers, and by these intrigues being entirely discountenanced by the

* So designated from having been (like Ormond and Bolingbroke) attainted by Act of Parliament.

Regent when brought under his notice by the British ambassador.*

The interest taken by George I. in tracing out the secret intentions and schemes of his Jacobite subjects is well illustrated by two letters from the Duke of Montrose (now a Lord of the Bedchamber) to Stair in regard to Stewart of Appin, a Jacobite then abroad, and the well-known Rob Roy M'Gregor :—

"London, *June* 10, 1717.

"On Thursday last I received your lordship's letter of the 14th N.S., and next morning had the honour to read it to his Majesty, who has commanded me to signify his pleasure to you that you should without loss of time call for that person, and not only encourage him to make such discoveries as may be for the service of the Government, but assure him in his Majesty's name that upon his laying himself out in earnest, and finding proper persons to prove the facts mentioned in your letter, he shall not only be safe as to his life, but his Majesty will interpose to have his estate restored to him; and that he may have an opportunity to prove the sincerity of his professions, he is allowed to go privately into Scotland in order to find out any correspondence that might have been kept

* Charles XII. and the Czar Peter became at this time standing toasts with the Jacobite party, as in the song,—

"Here's a health to the valiant Swede,
He's not a king that man hath made, &c.
. . . . .
Here's a health to the mysterious Czar,
I hope he'll send us help from far,
To end the work begun by Mar;
Then let his health go round."

—Jacobite Relics, ii. 44.

between the Pretender's friends and the Duke [Argyle?] or any in his Majesty's service; and that he shall be in no danger of being apprehended, the Lord Justice Clerk, with whom he is desired to meet privately, being to be particularly instructed to that end. He is to go straight into Scotland, and not touch at any port of England. Thus your lordship sees the king is fully disposed to do what can be expected of him; the gentleman may rest assured that his reward shall be in full proportion to the service he performs.* When I tell your lordship that the king has received the certain account of Rob Roy's having surrendered himself prisoner to the Duke of Athole, the 4th inst,† it may be a good argument to this gentleman to lose no time for his own sake in meriting that mercy and favour he may expect upon his doing what may be in his power before it is too late; since it is no ways improbable but it may be got done without him.—Ever, my dear Lord, yours. Adieu. In my opinion the sooner he leaves Paris the better."

* Lord Stair having written on the subject of this letter to the Lord Justice Clerk in Scotland (Cockburn), received the following in answer: "I am honoured with your Excellency's two days ago of 12th July, by Mr Stewart of Appin, to whom I recommended the instructions I was entrusted with. He appears very zealous to perform services some way suitable to the obligations the Government has laid upon him. I likewise gave him recommendations to secure him that he should meet with no disturbance from the garrison of Fort William. His money was fallen short; that I supplied, and he is gone about his business."—Stair Papers, vol. xi.

† The celebrated freebooter Rob Roy, although he had taken neither a very active nor a very honest part in the rebellion, had yet been sufficiently engaged in it to justify the Government in adopting measures for his apprehension, through the agency of the Duke of Athole.

"LONDON, *June* 10, 1717.

" . . . This afternoon the king went to Hampton Court, and is to-morrow to be at Guilford, where I intend to wait of him. I shall return at night, having horses laid on the road. On Wednesday we shall have a message from the Commons desiring a farther day for the trial [of the Earl of Oxford], which trial, God knows, will never happen, for we want much to have the Parliament up. Poor Stanhope is not at all well, but I hope is in no danger, though he has an intermitting fever. You will hear this post that M. d'Arcy is out. He asked to wait of the king on Friday, but was refused, and the day after had a message. I believe we shall come to be some wiser by R. R. [Rob Roy]. Upon his surrendering to the Duke of Athole he signs a declaration, which I take to be a sham story and that he intends not to put his Grace upon the secret. Against he is brought to Edinburgh, I suppose he would speak in another manner. The king has ordered him to be brought prisoner from Logierait [where the Duke had sent him] to Edinburgh Castle, but has given orders that he be well used. As this scene opens or any thing occurs worth while, I'll continue to trouble you with my epistles." *

* Logierait, in Strathtay, was the seat of the Athole hereditary Court of regality, where the Duke had a court-house with a large hall for trials, a jail and a "gallows' hill." Rob Roy upon this occasion (perhaps when he found he was to be sent to Edinburgh Castle) made his escape from Logierait by breaking prison.—See Mr W. Fraser's Report on the Montrose MSS. in the Third Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 369.

This arrest (upon surrender) of Rob Roy by the Duke of Athole

In connection with the Jacobites, Lord Stair was informed in September by the British minister at Genoa of the seizure at Bologna by the Papal government of the eccentric Earl of Peterborough, on the pretence of his being concerned in a conspiracy against the life of the Pretender: "The 10th inst., about noon, there came two Irish officers, one called O'Bryan, with their swords drawn, into his room, threatening to kill him if he did not surrender, which his lordship was forced to do, his house being surrounded with soldiers and *sbirri*. They carried his lordship and all his servants, as also a lady with whom he has lived for some time, to Fort Urbano (a castle between Bologna and Modena), where proper officers were sent for their examination. When his lordship was seized he declared he was married to the lady (which was not the case, her husband being in Germany)."

The seizure of Lord Peterborough, which in its result was less serious than ridiculous, was highly resented by the British government, and was made the occasion of a spirited despatch (in French) from

is not mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in his "Introduction" to the novel of that name, which professes to relate the principal facts in the personal history of Rob Roy. Sir Walter's account of his capture by the Duke of Montrose may have fixed upon the wrong Duke. From the connection in which Rob Roy is mentioned along with Stewart of Appin in the Duke of Montrose's letter in the text, it would seem that he was apprehended by the Duke of Athole on account of his concern in the late rebellion. Sir Walter Scott's story of the Highlander who connived at the outlaw's escape, while fording a river, being struck down with the butt-end of a pistol by the Duke of Montrose is not consistent with his Grace's character, who was a civilian of peaceful habits, and was, or had been recently, Secretary of State for Scotland.

Secretary Addison to Count Gallas, the Imperial minister at Rome : * —

"WHITEHALL, *Oct.* 14, 1717.

"My master, the king of Great Britain, having received certain information that the Earl of Peterborough, one of his Majesty's subjects and a peer of the realm, has been recently arrested and imprisoned in the Pope's territories, on the pretext, as false as it is infamous, of his having formed a design to assassinate the Pretender, and there being no correspondence between the courts of England and Rome, his Majesty, confiding in the friendship of the Emperor, is desirous that his Imperial Majesty would have the goodness to give orders to your Excellency to demand from the Pope, in the name of his Majesty, suitable reparation. And as his Majesty counts greatly upon your Excellency's good offices, he does not doubt but this affair may be arranged to his satisfaction by one whose honour, prudence and integrity are so well known.

"The king has long had occasion to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Pope, who has assisted the Pretender to his crown with contributions for the purpose of depriving him of his kingdoms, who has ordered public prayers and processions for the success of those endeavours, and has fomented intrigues for the same purpose in several of the European Courts. His Majesty has hitherto regarded such proceedings with the contempt they deserve, feeling himself, by the grace of God, too surely established

* Stair Papers, vol. ix. I have ventured to translate Addison's French despatch into English. His French writing in this despatch is not free from Anglicisms.

upon his throne to be afraid of these impotent efforts. But the Pope having by this new outrage inflicted an injury upon one of the peers of his kingdom, under a pretext which reflects principally on the king himself, his Majesty, in order to justify his own honour and that of the British nation, notoriously violated by the dark and atrocious surmises that have been spread as to the pretended design of Lord Peterborough, and to obtain satisfaction correspondent to such an insult, which shall be as public as the injury itself, hereby insists upon the reparation following :—

"1. That the Earl of Peterborough be immediately set at liberty, and have his domestics and papers restored.

"2. That the Pope disavow this proceeding by a writing which he shall place in the hands of your Excellency, and that he declare it to have been without his order.

"3. That the Cardinal Legate of Bologna be punished for the part he has taken in this affair.

"4. That the Pope engage not to mix himself directly or indirectly in what regards England, nor in any way to interest himself in the cause of the Pretender with relation to his pretensions to his Majesty's dominions.

"5. That in future he suffer no subjects of the king to be molested in any part of his territories under any pretext whatever having relation to the Pretender.

"If the Pope do not deem it fitting to agree to these demands, his Majesty will himself seek satisfaction by the most suitable and efficacious means; having already ordered a squadron of his ships to

sail towards the coast of the Papal territory, which squadron is to go to Civita Vecchia, or other places where it will find occasion to show marks of his Majesty's just resentment. And in case the court of Rome, by some chicane or other frivolous pretexts, should be desirous of deferring the satisfaction demanded, then his Majesty will expect, in addition to the above-mentioned satisfaction, that all the expenses of the expedition be reimbursed to him by the Pope, and his Majesty's admirals and officers shall have instructions to that effect.

"I am ordered to give your Excellency forehand information of his Majesty's intentions, in order that you may be ready to enter upon this negotiation as soon as you shall have received the Emperor's instructions on the subject. The king has at the same time charged me to let your Excellency know he has a great esteem for you personally, and is so well informed of your conduct when in this kingdom, that he will be happy to see this affair in the hands of a minister who will undertake it with good will, and despatch it as promptly as its nature calls for."

Lord Peterborough was soon after liberated, with an ample apology from the Papal government, and as much reparation as he chose to accept.*

From a letter of Lord Stair to Mr Craggs† in October Lord Mar appears now to have lost all hopes of the Jacobite cause: "The Duke of Ormond and Mar are gone into Italy. Mar desired to see me; he came to my house and staid four or five hours.

* See letter of Lord Peterborough as to his arrest, in Appendix.

† Mr James Craggs was about this time promoted from being Secretary-at-War to be one of the principal secretaries of State.

By his way he looked upon their affairs at that time as desperate. He flung out several things, as I thought, with a design to try whether there was any hope of treating. Because I did not think it was fair to give false hopes to an old friend, though I knew at the same time he would not have so dealt with me, we did not dip deep into particulars; but in conversation of that kind there is always something curious to be learned."*

Notwithstanding the provisions of the treaties of Utrecht and the recent alliance between England, France and Holland, of which the chief object was to enforce these provisions, the jarring interests of Philip of Spain and the Emperor had raised questions between those powers in regard to Italy and the Mediterranean islands, which were now threatening the peace of Europe. The British government was bound to guarantee and maintain the state of matters in the Mediterranean established by the Utrecht treaties; while the Regent Orleans, swaying between the traditional policy of France and the sounder and safer policy of standing firm in all points by the English alliance, was undecided whether to adopt compromising measures with Spain, now ruled by Cardinal Alberoni, or to take part with the Emperor and England in the quarrel which was brewing. At the instance of his Government, Lord Stair used all the methods he could to draw the Regent into the latter course, a piece of diplomacy in which he was ultimately successful. The negotiations on this subject led in the ensuing year to the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance.† The two fol-

* Hardwicke Papers, ii. 561.

† The merit of the diplomatists who brought about this treaty was so

lowing despatches of July 7th and 10th,* from Stair to Lord Stanhope, now prime minister and a peer, will show how bowls were rolling in the Council of the Regent :—

"PARIS, *July* 7, 1717.

"Having this opportunity of writing to you by Col. Pitt, I shall improve it to let you know that I find the general bent of this kingdom is against us. They consider us their natural and their necessary enemies; that no friendship with us can be lasting, or to be depended upon. This prejudice prevails with a good many of the ministers; and having taken their impressions in the time of the late king, they can think of no system but making alliances to get the better of the Emperor and us joined together. I have endeavoured as much as I could, in proper places, to show the weakness of these notions. I think I have convinced the Regent that it is the interest of Britain that the Emperor should be a match, or near a match, for France; . . . that this balance of power is so much the natural interest of all the princes of Europe, and especially of the princes of Germany, that they will join with those who endeavour to preserve it, and oppose those who endeavour to break it; that if the Emperor should endeavour to exceed his bounds, he will find Britain and the princes

much the greater, that the prejudices of the Court of Vienna against the alliance had to be overcome, as well as those of the Regent. See letters of the British ambassador at Vienna (Mr Stanyan) to Lord Stair, in Appendix.

* Stair Papers, vol. iii. B. A short extract from the first of these letters is given in the appendix to the first volume of Earl Stanhope's History of England.

of the north of Germany ready to oppose him in conjunction with France; and that, for the same reason, if France should endeavour to break the balance, she will find Britain and the same princes of the north standing in opposition to her enterprises on the side of the Emperor; that by this system, which is so plain and so natural, it is evident to a demonstration that France must find her safety and her tranquillity in adhering firmly to the Triple Alliance and to your plan for settling the affairs of Europe; that if France should endeavour to frame another system, as by acts and intrigues and weight of subsidies to form alliances to get the better of the Emperor, she would, in the first place, lose all her credit, and with that the friendship of those powers that are most able to help her; and, in the next place, those very princes gained as aforesaid would leave her whenever she had occasion to employ them, because it would be plainly their interest so to do. The Regent is convinced of the truth of this doctrine, which is well enforced by the impossibility there is of his succeeding to the crown of France by any other means but by the king's friendship.

"The Marquis d'Huxelles [French minister] agrees with me in the general positions; but I know in secret he opposes the plan strenuously, and struggles hard for particular alliances. For which reason, in my humble opinion, we should, with the greatest care, endeavour to prevent any conjunction that may be intended between France, the king of Prussia and the Czar, which, I own, would be a foolish one for them but an exceeding dangerous one for us. And, for the same reasons, I think we should encourage any steps the king of Prussia makes towards being

in friendship with the king, which indeed is his plain and natural interest; and I think you and Lord Sunderland should endeavour to soften our German ministers upon that head, where, I am afraid, they are a little too hard and prejudiced, though, I own, not without reason. If there is any faith in man, I have convinced the Baron Kniphausen [Prussian minister] that it is his master's true and solid interest to be well with the king; that in friendship and in conjunction with the king, he will make a great and noble figure in Europe, and, without danger, be courted both by the Emperor and by France, and every other prince and state; that, divided from the king, or in enmity with him, he will either be inconsiderable, or, if he makes a figure, it will be an ignoble one—to his own loss, to the ruin and destruction of the Protestant interest, and of the liberty of Europe. . . .

"But to speak of our plan for the general settlement of Europe, the two different spirits in the ministry here, which I have mentioned in the former part of my letter, have kept the Regent balancing this fortnight last past, without being able to take any final resolution as to the answer to be made to the Court of Vienna. Alternately I have seen one and the other spirit prevail from day to day, may be as there was news from Hungary or from England. The Regent himself is certainly, in his judgment and in his opinion, for the plan, and wishes it may succeed; the Maréchal d'Huxelles is certainly against it. Every time I have talked with the Regent upon that subject, I have left him in the opinion that, if Spain did not come into the plan, it was his interest, and the interest of France, to treat separately with the

Emperor in the terms proposed by the Court of Vienna; that we should declare this at Vienna, and desire a Minister to be sent from thence to treat, that no time might be lost. Regularly the next day or two days after every one of our conversations, I have been told by the Abbé Dubois that his Royal Highness had changed his opinion. Yesterday I had a very long conversation with the Regent, and I left him in the same mind above-mentioned. When his answer in writing comes, which he promised me I should have as this day or to-morrow, it may chance to be different. . . . The Duke of Ormond and Lord Mar are still here. I told the Regent the house in Versailles where the Duke of Ormond lived; he said he would instantly give his orders to Mr d'Argenton to have him seized. I am of opinion he will now be sent away in good earnest. . . .

"*P.S.*—I beg the favour of having a copy of this letter, and of my last to you, sent me back. I have nobody here that I care to let copy such letters."

"PARIS, *July* 10, 1717.

"It has happened as I foresaw it might happen. I send you enclosed the Regent's answer in writing, in which you will find not one word of treating separately with the Emperor; the Abbé Dubois brought it on Thursday in the evening. . . . I was resolved if possible to see the Regent before I sent away this paper. I went yesterday to the Palais Royal about two o'clock —the hour he takes his chocolate the days he does not dine. He came out as I expected, and I pretended to have some trifling petition to give him; so he carried me in with him. When I had spoke of

that affair, he told me he had sent the Abbé Dubois to me with his answer in writing. I told him that I had received it, but that I was afraid it might give occasion of conceiving some jealousy at Vienna, which might have an ill effect. We went through the consequences the Emperor's jealousy might have. He agreed with me, after examining the circumstances, that it was no difficult matter for the Emperor, the King of Spain and the King of Sicily to agree; that if they did, his (the Duke of Orleans) pretensions to the crown of France came to stand upon a very ill foot. The conclusion was: 'My lord, I have not changed my mind; this plan is better if the king of Spain comes into it, and we must do everything we can think of to oblige him to come in; but if he will not, I declare to you I am resolved to treat separately with the Emperor; but what I have said in the paper you received from the Abbé is all I durst venture to put in writing.' I asked his Royal Highness whether he would allow me to give an account to the king of what he did me the honour to tell me. The Regent answered me: 'I tell it you with an intention that you should give an account of it to the king, and that the Emperor should know it. Now' (said the Regent) 'my lord, since this is our plan fixed and settled, let us lose no time in pressing the king of Spain, that we may have his final answer, and act accordingly.'

"From the relation of what has passed in this negotiation, which I have given you very truly and naturally from the beginning, you will see how variable and divided the counsels are here, and how little to be depended upon. We shall influence their counsels as long as it appears we are in condition to help

them. If ever we come to need their assistance, 'tis more than an even lay we shall have France against us. From all that has been said, I conclude for my old and only doctrine,—make the king's hands strong at home; when they are so, Britain will govern Europe without trouble and without expense.

"The Regent told me yesterday of the revolt of Martinica, and said he hoped our islands would do nothing to favour the rebellion. I told him I durst answer that the king would not only not encourage that revolt, but that, if his Royal Highness wanted assistance of any kind from our islands in the neighbourhood, his Majesty would be ready to order the said islands to furnish any necessaries he might want to reduce these rebels. He said he should want nothing; for he was fitting out seven or eight little ships to reduce the island, which he reckoned would be brought about the more easily that the rebels were not in possession of any of the forts." *

* Paper of the Regent referred to in the beginning of this despatch:—

"Monseigneur le Régent est toujours dans les mêmes sentiments au sujet du plan formé par le roi de la Grande Bretagne, et est persuadé qu'on ne peut rien faire de plus solide pour assurer la tranquillité de l'Europe que d'engager l'Empereur et le roi d'Espagne à convenir de leurs intérêts, et à les assurer par un traité de paix qui soit guaranti par la France, l'Angleterre, et la Hollande. Son Altesse Royale a appris avec une grande joye les bonnes dispositions de l'Empereur sur ce projet, et ne s'opposera point aux avantages que sa Majesté Impériale y pourra trouver. Mais comme l'objet que l'on se propose est l'établissement d'une paix général sur les fondements des Traités d'Utrecht, son Altesse Royale, qui ne peut déroger en rien à ces traités sans le consentement des parties intéressés, a impatience que le roi d'Espagne entre dans le plan proposé, et prie sa Majesté Britannique d'accélérer ses bons offices auprès de ce prince, pour l'y déterminer; Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans assurant sa Majesté Britannique que d'abord que le roi d'Espagne y aura consenté, son Altesse Royale concourra à la conclusion avec empressement et de tout son pouvoir, et donnera les mains aux conditions et aux expédients que sa Majesté Britannique lui a déja

I have placed together the five letters which follow from Addison to Lord Stair,—the letters, though of interest in themselves, not being essential to the connection of the narrative.

*Mr Secretary Addison to the Earl of Stair.**

"London, *June* 6, 1717.

"Having no instructions for a publick letter for your lordship, I shall only trouble you with the acknowledgment of your's of the 14th instant, which is this moment come to my hands by expresse. I have not yet received the minutes I was promised from those who are thoroughly acquainted with the state of the king of Prussia's misunderstanding with his Majestie, upon which I hoped to have drawn up a letter to your Excellency this evening, so that I must put off that matter to the next post. Yesterday we look upon to have been the decisive day of this session. Both parties made their utmost efforts, and summoned all their friends that could be got together from every quarter of the nation. Mr Pulteney began the attack in a long speech, to shew the unreasonableness of the several articilles charged in Lord Cadogan's account.† He was answered by Cragges,

proposé et à tout ce que dans la suite Elle jugera convenable pour consommer un ouvrage si digne de son zèle pour le repos public et si salutaire à tous les états de l'Europe."

* In this autograph letter of Mr Addison, the spelling is given exactly as in the original.

† This attack upon Lord Cadogan was one of the most important parliamentary proceedings of the year. As ambassador at the Hague, Cadogan had superintended the transporting of the Dutch auxiliaries at the time of the rebellion; and a charge of fraud and embezzlement as to the expenses then incurred was now brought against him by the Opposition.

who has gained great reputation from the debate. He answered every particular to the satisfaction of the impartial side of the House, and was very well supported by lieutenant-general M'Cartney at the bar. This put the enemy into so great confusion that Mr Walpole was forced to rally them upon another foot. He endeavoured to discover, with a great deal of art, several frauds in the Account, as charging the same particulars under different heads, the insufficiency of the vouchers, &c., which, after his manner, he placed in the strongest light they would bear. It happened luckily for us that the Master of the Rolls dy'd some time before this contest. Sir Joseph Jekyll answered Mr Walpole and with great strength of reasoning, who (Walpole) was seised with a bleeding at the nose upon his rising to reply. Mr Lechmere exerted very well, and Mr Aislaby, with as much decency as a man could do who is just detached from the party. Among the Tories, Hungerford declared himself very much disappointed in the prodigious discoverys that were expected on that day, but concluded against the Whigs for the question on the paper. This I should have told your Excellency was moved by Hearne, in the beginning of the debate—viz., 'that it appeared to your Committee that the embarkation of the troopes from Ostend had cost £10,000.' Though the whole body of the Tories were there, and not a single man among them voted for us, none else spoke but Shippen.* They had a long string of questions to have

* In the debate the chief speaking was on the part of the Whigs in opposition, two Tories only having spoken. Compare with this letter Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. viii.

followed, if they had carried the innocent one at first proposed, which Mr Stanhope took notice of, and therefore moved for leaving the Chair, which by the Speaker's means was filled with Edgcumbe, for we designed Mr Fairer for that post. Mr Smith, who understands parliamentary craft, very artificially insisted upon the first question as what would do most honour to Lord Cadogan; but at the same time said the account given in was the most illusive and deceitful one that he had ever seen brought into the House. All the Prince's court was against us, and 78 Whigs, among whom several in places. But upon the division we were 204 to 194. As this was the utmost effort of all parties united against the present interest, I believe it is not hard to guesse which of the sides is likely to grow the strongest for it. Those who lost the day are amazed at their ill success, and wonder from whence such a body could be drawn together against 'em, for it was their own and the common opinion of the town that they would carry it by 50 or 60 voices. But they could not have fallen on any other man that could have so well bestirred himself in his defence, tho' at the same time none appeared in it who, I believe, would not be ready to promote his Majestie's service with the utmost zeal and diligence in all other points, as I believe several of those who appeared against his lordship will do for the future. As I take the liberty to write this in the greatest confidence to your Excellency, I beg you will please to throw it into the fire after your perusal of it.—I am, &c.

"*P.S.*—Yesterday has made the court very successfull this day, the House having agreed to the

resolutions of the Bank and South Sea, so that I look on the difficulties of the session to be at an end. I need not tell your Excellency in how much haste this is written."

"WHITEHALL, *July* 25, 1717.

"I have laid before his Majesty your Excellency's letter relating to the admission of the king of Prussia into the Triple Alliance, and the mediation of the French king in the peace of the north. As to the first, his Majesty is very well pleased with the reasons you have alleged against it in your conversation with the Abbé Dubois, which your Excellency will be able to enforce upon the perusal of the minutes which I lately transmitted to you by his Majesty's order. To which I must further add, that by advices received from Vienna, his Majesty is informed that the Emperor has declared he will not come into the Alliance in case the king of Prussia be admitted. As to the second point, that of the French king's mediation in the peace of the north, his Majesty is no less pleased with the answer which your Excellency has made to that overture. However, as the king is ready to comply with everything that may be reasonably expected of him by the Regent, his Majesty, having already accepted him as mediator in the affair of Count Gyllenborg and Baron Gortz, is willing this mediation should extend to all other matters in dispute between the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden, which his Majesty thinks may be a means of preparing the way to his mediation in the peace of the north. Nevertheless, since his Majesty cannot act in this particular but in concert with the rest of

the allies of the empire, he is of opinion that the only method which the Court of France can make use of in order to carry this point, will be to induce his Swedish Majesty to make it his request that the king of France should be joined with the Emperor in this mediation. . . . I should not have troubled your Excellency upon this second mediation, which properly relates to the king's affairs in Germany, might not the prospect of it dispose the Regent to be more active and favourable in carrying on his mediation between the crowns of Great Britain and Sweden, to the satisfaction of his Majesty and the advantage of these his kingdoms. . . ."

"*September* 2, 1717.

"I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint your Excellency that it is his pleasure you should insinuate to the Regent his desire that his Royal Highness would look upon the *late* Lord Bolingbroke as under his Majesty's protection, to prevent any insults that may be offered him on account of the inclination he has shown to serve his Majesty, and reconcile himself to his royal favour. His Majesty likewise desires your Excellency to make no difficulty in granting a pass to Mr Brinsden [Bolingbroke's secretary] in case he should apply for one in order to come for England. The good news from Hungary has already had a happy influence on our public affairs, and very much mortifies the discontented parties of all kinds, who flattered themselves with the prospect of a contrary event. Our subscriptions since the victory come in at about £200,000 every day, which before scarcely amounted to £50,000.

"The Duke of Bolton has reason to expect a good session in Ireland. Lord Wharton, who is now in that kingdom, was complimented by the House of Lords with his place there, though under age; and his lordship made so good use of it that he made them a long, and, they say, a very handsome speech on the day of his admission. He professes himself a zealous friend to his Majesty, and I have by me a warrant for his being a duke when it shall be thought proper to make use of it. Several who were intractable in our last session of Parliament have made proper submissions, and are therefore continued in their places. The old bishop of Worcester being dead, Lichfield will be removed thither, and one Dr Chandler to Lichfield. The reversion of the auditors' places being granted to Mr Wortley Montagu and Mr Benson, they will attempt the removal of the incumbents; and I believe the former will be recalled from his embassy, and succeeded at Constantinople by Mr Stanyan, who is now at Vienna and will probably be joined in the mediation with Sir R. Sutton. The king obliges the nobility and others very much at Hampton Court by inviting them to sit down with him at table, and by his affable behaviour on those occasions. Mr Smith dined with his Majesty last Sunday, who they say has again taken his lady home. I beg your Excellency to pardon this news-letter, and am ever," &c.

"Hampton Court, *September* 19, 1717.

"Mr Cornish, one of the most eminent citizens of London, has informed some of his Majesty's ministers that Mr Anthony Cornish, his son, having lost a great

sum of money at play, has gone off with £2500 of his father's, and sailed from Dover on Sunday last, with a design, as is supposed, to proceed to Paris. His father makes it his request on this occasion that your Excellency may be desired to give such orders as you shall think proper for the finding out of the young gentleman; and it will be looked upon as a great favour if your Excellency will be so good as to persuade him in private conversation to return to his father, who will receive him with all possible kindness and freely excuse what has passed. His interest is so highly concerned in this point, that one would not think it should be difficult to bring it about, and his father hopes the more from your Excellency's good offices, as his son has boasted of the civilities you were pleased to show him when he was at Paris about a year ago. But in case he refuse to comply in this particular, you are, in his Majesty's name, to desire leave of the Regent, if it be necessary, to secure his person and send him to England."

"*October* 7, 1717.

"Having nothing to trouble your lordship with by this post from the office, I beg leave to send you a private news-letter of such occurrences as do not perhaps come to your lordship's notice from other hands. I am informed there was to have been a great meeting this year at Newmarket, and that the Prince was to have been of the party. This I believe made his Majesty take the sudden resolution of being present at the diversions of that place. His Majesty returns this evening in order to hold a council to-morrow for the further prorogation of the Parliament,

which I believe will meet towards the end of the next month. Horace Walpole, upon his succeeding Mr Blathwait, will find it difficult to get in for the next session. His former borough has refused him; and tho' he has pressed Lord Cobham for his interest at Buckingham, his lordship has answered him that he is under an engagement there for Mr Halsey, his father-in-law. There is a vacancy in that place by Mr Stanyan's being made a clerk of the council. He will be engaged in the mediation with Sir R. Sutton, and relieve Mr Wortley Montagu at Constantinople, having very well recommended himself to the Court of Vienna. I am glad to hear a party give out that they have frighted the ministers from the measures they were going into the last winter, which seems to intimate that they shall have no grounds for any attack upon them. It is observable, at the same time, that there is an unusual spirit got into the enemies of the Government, which discovers itself in the falsehood and virulence of their discourses, newspapers, clandestine prints and letters, and would make one think that the malcontents of England and France begin to act in perfect concert with one another. I am glad the Abbé Dubois is here in the present juncture, and by that means able to refute the groundless reports which are so industriously spread abroad to diminish the opinion of his Majesty's strength and interest among his own people, which I think increases daily.

"Upon the news of Lord Peterborough's confinement, it was at first resolved to visit Civita Vecchia with a squadron; but since his lordship is enlarged I do not yet know what turn that affair will take. The

king's business goes on very well in the Irish parliament, notwithstanding endeavours have not been wanting to stir up difficulties. Mr Aislaby must, I believe, take us under his conduct in the House of Commons, and I fancy will do it to the king's satisfaction. Boscawen has been a little out of humour since the call of my Lord Stanhope into the upper House; but he is come to himself again, and is now in Ireland, to qualify himself for the half Vice-Treasurer's place of that kingdom.

The king has gained many hearts by his affable and condescending way of life at Hampton Court. The Princess's delivery is expected every day. Some of the Board of Trade have intimated to me that they would be very glad if your lordship would make some inquiry about the West India Company [Mississippi scheme] which is now erecting in France, and transmit an account of it. . . ."

(*Signed*) J. Addison

CHAPTER X.

Expedition fitted out by Cardinal Alberoni, and directed against Sardinia—All the efforts of British diplomacy put in motion at Madrid and Paris—Letters of Mr Addison, Lord Stanhope, the ambassador at Vienna, and the Duke of Roxburgh, to Lord Stair—Lady M. W. Montagu—Letters of Secretary Craggs and Sir David Dalrymple on home politics, &c.—Government difficulties in regard to the Scottish Forfeited Estates—Letter of Colonel Cathcart to Stair—The Duke of Marlborough—Painting of his portrait by Kneller—What influence exercised in army patronage—Mary Bellenden.

The disputes between Spain and the Emperor very soon reached a point when recourse to arms became unavoidable. Cardinal Alberoni, bent upon war, took his measures with great ability and resolution. In an incredibly short time he fitted out an expedition at Barcelona, which immediately engaged the attention of Europe. Speculation was rife as to its object, and Secretary Addison wrote to Lord Stair :—

"Whitehall, *Aug.* 5, 1717.

"... Your Excellency's letter of the 28th of July having been read in the Cabinet council, his Majesty and their Lordships were highly satisfied with your Excellency's reasonings upon the expedition now set

on foot in Spain; and I am to acquaint your Excellency that his Majesty has, by an express, ordered his minister at that court to demand of the Spaniards to explain themselves upon the design of the said expedition. His Majesty has likewise thought fit to direct a person of quality and figure to be in readiness to repair to that court as soon as he shall be better informed of that design, who will have instructions to take the court of France in his way, and consult with your Excellency on such measures as shall be thought proper to concert with the Regent in so nice a conjuncture." *

The person selected to repair to Madrid and lay the views of the British government before the Cardinal and his sovereign, was Colonel William Stanhope, cousin of the prime minister, afterwards Earl of Harrington.

The danger of British interests being affected by a war in the Mediterranean were thus referred to in a despatch from the British minister at Genoa (D'Avenant) to Lord Stair: † "The growing power of Spain by sea is what should require our attention at present. You see what a fleet they have been able to fit out this year, and all accounts agree that the next year they will have fifty sail of men-of-war. . . . If they meet with any considerable success in their present projects, I don't see how the maritime powers can stand neuter; and I think no time ought to be lost in putting Mahon in a posture of

* Stair Papers, vol. x.

† Aug. 24, 1717—Stair Papers, vol. ix.

defence, for without doubt they will attack that island if they are resolved on measures which must in their consequence produce a rupture with us, and oblige the king to support his guarantee, which we cannot so well do should we lose Mahon.* Next Saturday there will arrive here from Milan 750 men of Hamilton's regiment, to be embarked for Sardinia or Naples, as occasion shall offer."

Any doubt as to the destination of the Spanish expedition was soon cleared up by the sailing of the fleet from Barcelona, with an army on board under command of the Marquis de Lede, and its arrival in the bay of Cagliari; so that Sardinia, and not the *terra firma* of Italy, was the part of the Emperor's dominions to be first attacked. There appeared to be no complicity with Spain on the part of any of the Italian princes, though the court of Turin was at first suspected. The siege of Cagliari was commenced forthwith, and it was taken in October.

All the springs of diplomacy were now put in motion by the British government to induce the Regent to take a part in accordance with their views, and concur in whatever methods should be adopted to bring the court of Spain and the Cardinal Alberoni into a more peaceful course of action. Stair's endeavours in this direction are referred to in the following letters to him from Lord Stanhope: †—

"THISTLEWORTH, *Sept.* 5, 1717.

"My having been a little while out of town is the

* Minorca had been ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht.
† Stair Papers, vol. ix.

occasion of not sending the messenger sooner with an answer to your lordship's most welcome letter of the 6th. The king is extremely pleased with the account you give of your last audience of the Regent, and it was impossible to lead the Regent more skilfully than your lordship did into the king's views; and his Majesty is so well satisfied with the frankness and openness which his Royal Highness hath expressed on this occasion, that I dare say it will thoroughly engage the king to make, upon all occasions, such suitable returns of confidence as will turn to the advantage of his Royal Highness. As your lordship has thus happily begun this affair, the king relies on your care and management to get it followed. It would certainly be most for the king's service that the Regent should not appear, and he is very happy that the Regent is himself so much of that opinion. Your lordship must know the character of the Duke of St Aignan,*—what interest he is in, whether a creature of the Regent's, or, like all the ministers who are at present employed by France in foreign courts, devoted to the old ministry. You will, according to the opinion you shall have of the said Duke, concert with the Regent how far he is or is not to be trusted, and what instructions you will give to Col. Stanhope in the matter. He will already have communicated to your lordship his instructions, by which you will find that he is authorised to promise 40,000 pistoles. In case the pension to be furnished by the Regent should go through his hands, you will get him instructed accordingly. The king is of opinion a million of livres may do the busi-

* French minister at the Court of Madrid.

ness, and, whatever the sum be that shall be expended, is willing to contribute half.*

"The king had, before he saw your letter, already had it under consideration whether your lordship should not go to Spain for a little time; but considering the temper of the Regent—so easy to be biassed by his worst enemies, and that ascendant you have so happily and with so much skill gained upon him, his Majesty thinks it would be very hazardous for your lordship to be absent for ever so short a time, and especially since it will likewise most probably happen that the Abbé Dubois must likewise be at a distance, when this matter would then be left entirely to the old ministers. I was more pressing than you can be at Paris to have my Lord Cadogan go; but that cannot be, and we must now trust Providence. The happy campaign in Hungary,† and one million of livres, will, I hope, determine the court of Spain to hear reason. I believe it may be right to acquaint the Abbé Dubois with our designs in relation to Cardinal Alberoni. Your lordship is upon the spot, and can best judge whether it be so or no, and the king refers it entirely to your lordship's judgment. I hope and pray that you will send on Col. Stanhope as soon as may be."

"KENSINGTON, *Nov.* 9, 1717.

"I am to acknowledge the favour of your lordship's of the 2d November, which hath been laid be-

* This passage would seem to refer to a bribe intended for the Cardinal Alberoni, or perhaps his minister Riperda, for the purpose of engaging them in the interest of the king of England and the Regent.

† Prince Eugene had recently defeated the Turks at Belgrade.

fore his Majesty. It is impossible to talk better than the Regent has done to your lordship. By letters from Madrid of the 29th, we do not find that his ambassador there does behave accordingly; and 'tis most evident, from the carriage of Alberoni, that he thinks himself sure of support from France. I wish the new orders which the Regent hath promised to send may disabuse him. I am very sorry to learn that your lordship hath been, and continues to be, indisposed, since the greatest hopes we have of success are founded on your lordship's skill and activity. I should have thanked your lordship sooner for your great kindness and civility to my kinsman [colonel Stanhope] who is truly sensible of it, and I beg leave to assure you that you could not have laid a greater obligation upon me."

Negotiation and bribery failed to produce their anticipated effects at Madrid, and recourse was had by France and England, in the following spring, to a more cogent line of argument.

The following letters from the British ambassador at Vienna show the hesitation of that court in giving their adhesion to the recent alliance of England with France, and also contain notices of Mr Wortley and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu :*—

"VIENNA, *Jan.* 9, 1717.

". . . This court comes it very civilly to us, but one may perceive an inward grudging upon the account of our alliance with France. In spite of all that has been said to them upon that subject, they still main-

* Mr Stanyan to the Earl of Stair—Stair Papers, vol. x.

tain it will be very prejudicial in its consequences to the Emperor; and Prince Eugene told me yesterday, when I was representing to him the advantage of accepting without delay the offer the Dutch made of acceding to our treaty with the Emperor, that he could not see of what advantage or security that accession could be to him while the States were making another treaty of the same nature with France, which visibly tended to the settlement of Philip on the throne of Spain. . . . I contented myself with telling him that I hoped at least they would think his Majesty had done a very kindly office, by putting it in their power to make this alliance whenever they should think it for their interests. . . .

"This court makes all possible preparation for taking the field by the beginning of May, in hopes of making themselves masters of Belgrade before the Turks can draw their army together; though all our advices from Turkey say they likewise make their utmost efforts to bring a vast army into the field, nor is there the least ground for the reports that have been spread of their having made overtures of peace to this court. Mr Wortley Montagu and his lady arrived here from Hanover two days ago. He talks of setting out for Belgrade in a little time, but cannot yet fix any day for his departure. He is like to carry no other instruction from hence than that if the Turks put any overtures of peace into his hands, he is desired to transmit them hither. In the mean time Lady Mary is pretty much the subject of conversation here. She sticks to her English modes and manners, which exposes her a little to the railleries of the Vienna ladies. She replies with a good deal of

wit, and is engaged in a sort of petty war; but they all own she is a witty woman, if not a well-dressed one." *

"VIENNA, *June* 23, 1717.

" . . . Some days ago I received a courier from Mr Wortley Montagu, with letters dated the 1st inst. from Adrianople, which contain an offer of peace the Grand Signor's favourite made him with the Emperor alone, on condition all things be put upon the foot they were before the rupture, without any mention made of giving back the Morea to the Venetians. I find the court is not at all satisfied with Mr Wortley's behaviour upon this occasion, both because he took upon him to send hither such proposals, which he knew would be rejected with scorn, and because he has by his discourse given the Turks occasion to believe the Emperor was very desirous of peace, which they say is not the way to get it of them, and therefore particularly recommended to him to talk in a quite contrary style. I shall, in a few days more, press them to tell me what they would have me write to him by the return of his courier, tho' I question much whether they will explain themselves, for the truth is (*entre nous, s'il vous plait*) they have no opinion of him. And I know one of the ministers here said t'other day, that Lady Mary came hither with a design of making conquest of Prince Eugene; but they now began to suspect the Grand Signor's favourite was the handsomer man, and had got her over to the Turkish interest."

* Among Lady Mary Wortley's published letters are two from Vienna during this visit,—one to Lady Rich, and one to the Countess of Mar.

"VIENNA, *Oct.* 20, 1717.

". . . Prince Eugene arrived here last night, and this morning received the compliments of the Court upon his glorious campaign. When he waited on the Emperor and Empress, she slyly stole his sword from his side and put another in the cover very richly set with diamonds, while he was not to perceive what was doing. However, tho' he will ask nothing, I have reason to believe he expects a more substantial reward for all his services than such a plaything."

Lord Stair's activity and versatility of mind led him to take an active interest in all matters relating to the home politics of England and Scotland, the members of his own family, and his acquaintances generally. James Craggs, a staunch and useful member of the Government, and fast friend of Stair's, and his uncle Sir David Dalrymple, now growing more independent in his views than was quite consistent with his position as king's Advocate, were among the ambassador's most trusted correspondents in England, and with whom he had apparently no reserve.

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

"HAMPTON COURT, *September* 5, 1717.

". . . I agree with you entirely that we stand on a narrow bottom, that it would be right to enlarge it, that violent measures are at all times bad, that moderate knowing men should be courted, and that we may have people among us who are for driving too fast. . . . What has this ministry [Lord

Stanhope's] done? I know of nothing but an Act of grace [the Act of Indemnity], a reduction of interest, and a reduction of the army. What have they to do? I know of nothing but to lessen the taxes, diminish the army more, reduce interest farther, and obtain an universal peace by treaties, when the king will make this country appear greater than it ever was since the creation; of which prospect your lordship knows much more than I do. If the inveteracy between parties and men is such that, notwithstanding these things, we still stand on a narrow bottom, what can be done to enlarge it? Why, the king must show that in those things which are merely personal he will be master; that since it is not the public which men are concerned for, in other things they must come into his measures, and not he into theirs; and if you'll have my poor opinion, his steadiness and the visible proofs of his being determined has had that effect to a vast degree, and will yet to a greater. At the same time, I say this,—I would have his Majesty receive not only every honest well-meaning man, but every Jacobite that comes over to his interest: but the minute he begins to give in to other folks' projects, he will be again at sea. You know we cannot easily submit to other folks' wisdom, and every one has some particular judgment and some particular friends of his own in this country; a little time and a great deal of resolution is necessary to make them all acknowledge the king's. . . . As to violent measures, if you are speaking of public ones, I have heard of none but the Occasional Conformity and University Bills, which were both dropped in prudence, and as much according to my little share of

it as any man's; and yet I met no man that was a Whig but said they were just and necessary, though ill-timed. . . . As to moderate knowing men, I wish to God He would send us a crop of them, for I can swear by Him I don't know them. I don't see a man but is engaged in some cabal or other. I don't see a man that inquires after the public but as he thinks it a popular handle to support his own or distress his enemy's designs. But if it will please you, I do begin to hope that such men as you mean begin to see it will be their interest to support the king, and I believe don't very well know on what pretence they can oppose him. . . . That we have some among us who are for driving too fast, I believe it. As to the northern parts, I am very much a stranger. I only know what I told you in my last letter. Since then, I had the honour of a visit from Sir David [Dalrymple], to whom I spoke very frankly and friendly. He showed me a letter from your lordship, which I told our ministers of, who were extremely pleased with it. I took that handle to tell him that he was suspected to be got in with the Duke of H[amilton], and to protect the Jacobites in that country; that it was matter of fact that not one of them would forfeit their estates in Scotland, which they would do in England; but, in short, he knew best what engagements he had. . . ."

"London, *October* 14, 1717.

"I hope we shall begin this session by a reduction of about 6000 men, which will reduce the whole number to 16,000, and there we shall endeavour to make a stand; we shall break no corps. But we

have some great men against it, for which reason I don't care to have it mentioned with any authority, because I go on one inviolable principle in business ;—when men are embarked in it, they must support the contrary opinion to their own with equal vigour, if, in a consultation of friends, it prevails. For this I think there occurs to me a sort of mathematical reason. In all countries there is a set of men—and in this it requires a numerous one, a whole party—to carry on a common cause ; they are as so many pillars to a building. He that is valuing himself at the other's cost, and making public how much he is wiser or honester than his neighbour, while he fancies he strengthens himself, is only weakening that foundation upon which the whole depends, and which, when it fails, will let him crumble to the ground, as well as the other parts of the edifice. When a house falls, you seldom see a closet standing by itself. . . . What you write me of Johnny Stewart is very conformable to my own desires ; I would have him consider that I have been but six months in this office, but if I continue in it I will find an occasion to serve him, and I have, as I wrote you, no thoughts of going out unless I am forced out. I have had a letter from Sir David, but it mentions nothing but several recommendations. When I answer it, I will give him a small hint again of coming up and serving cheerfully ; it is the sure road at this court. The king begins to express himself very plainly upon these occasions, and besides, I think it is honest and conformable to Sir David's principles. He may, if he pleases, serve the king, his party, and his family, and follow the opinions he has ever professed. Surely that will get the better

of all the private resentments in the world. The king's journey to Newmarket did great good; he behaved himself with great ease and skill to everybody. He seems so well pleased with it that I hope it will not be so difficult, against another time, to make him take a progress. He was particularly civil to the Dukes of Devonshire, Rutland, Grafton, my lord Orford and Mr Methuen; but turned his back to Mr Walpole, and ordered the Lord of the Bedchamber to invite everybody to dine but him and his brother Townshend.* But the latter did not come there. You can't imagine the good effect his presence seemed to have everywhere. . . ."

These letters show Mr Craggs in his own character of a thorough partisan and trained politician, at the same time a loyal and well-intentioned man.

The following letter, from the Duke of Roxburgh (Secretary of State for Scotland) to Lord Stair, will fitly introduce three letters from Sir David Dalrymple :—

"London, *January* 10, 1717.

"I had the honour of your lordship's of the 4th by my good friend Col. Otway, and am extremely glad of your lordship's resolution of coming here this winter; and yet in the manner you mention it I know not what to say to it, only I am satisfied that your being here will be for the public service, as all mankind is convinced your being where you are is. I do assure your lordship that what Sir David [Dalrymple] said to me when he was here gave me great satisfac-

* Walpole and his brother-in-law Lord Townshend were in opposition.

tion, and I have not the least doubt of his doing what he can to make the post I am in easy to me; but unless your lordship prevail with him, I am afraid it will not be easy to bring him up this session of parliament; and if something is to be gone about, your lordship cannot but think his presence here will be necessary. By Tuesday or Wednesday next his Majesty may be here [from Hanover], and then I hope an end will be put to all the little jars and jealousies that have been amongst us of late, which, I am sure, has not given more trouble to any one than to myself. The Duke of Montrose is to be here in a few days, and, indeed, a reinforcement is wanted."

Sir David Dalrymple to the Earl of Stair.

"NEW-HAILES, *April, between 23d and 24th.*

"I have not troubled you these many posts, but being afraid that you are on the point of leaving us, I come (as I would do if I were at London) in this distant form of visit to give your lordship my blessing at parting, and my hearty thanks for the obliging countenance you have shown to my son. I dare answer, body for body, for his gratitude, and I hope your lordship will never repent the goodness you favour him with. The circumstances of the public astonish me and grieve me. This throwing up [of office] *de gaieté de cœur* is a manner of acting towards a sovereign pretty singular.* I know it was done in 1710; I doubt then it was not thought very solid,

* This passage refers to the recent resignation of Walpole and his friends in the ministry. Lord Stair was at the date of this letter about to return to Paris, after a spring visit to London.

but how widely distant are these two cases! What has the king done that can be called against the interest of his people? Has he made an inglorious peace with the irreconcilable enemies of the religion, liberty, and trade of his country, after a glorious and successful war? Has he shown any inclination to betray us to a Popish and arbitrary government? I can hear of no popular cry but that against Germany. It minds me of the insolence with which our southern friends used the Scots in the reigns of James I. and beginning of Charles I. God forbid the king should abandon the interest of his ancient subjects, and govern them by the caprice and maxims of men implacable and full of themselves, as our kings, when they left us, did by us. The real interest of these nations does not require it; on the contrary, the safety of religion and common cause do pressingly require that we should look on the king's German subjects as brethren, and his Majesty's safety there as our safety, and as a new source of comfort to the Protestant cause. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

"London, *Aug.* 12, 1717.

". . . We long for good news from Belgrade, which God send us. Our little divisions cannot be very dangerous if the state of affairs abroad hinders the Popish powers to unite in support of the Pretender, and for animating his friends at home. It is that spirit at bottom that does, and ever since James I. of Great Britain was sixteen years of age, has wrought on our divisions. If that evil spirit be

diverted, we shall feel no violent effects of our strifes, though would to God they were at an end. We persuade ourselves here that the attempt which Spain and Sicily have made, and which alarms France, as we hope, as well as the Emperor, will make our king more the favourite of these great powers, as more necessary to keep all things even. . . . The lords of Session have made all the steps possible to facilitate the case of the Forfeited estates. I have long since delivered a memorial desiring directions to proceed in the common course of law, for by our custom the king's Advocate is the hand that moves in such cases; but he cannot move without orders, nor can the judges *impertire officium nisi rogati.* What answer I shall have I know not; I fear I shall have none, and then the bill that was rejected last year will return with double force. At least the commissioners [for disposing of the forfeited estates], who are thirteen members, will be kept up in hopes. That would entirely be prevented if the law were suffered to work, for then it would appear in fact that this Commission is useless and expensive, and even hurtful in some great degree.* The real difficulty of bringing the forfeited estates to the use of the public is, that it can never be done till the estates shall be

* The Commission for inquiring into the Forfeited Estates was very unpopular in Scotland. Being composed almost entirely of English lawyers, the Commissioners were inclined to pay but little regard to the rules of Scottish law as affecting the rights of heritable creditors, until they were at last effectually pulled up by the intricate mess in which they got involved. The thirteen Commissioners (who had each a salary of £1000 per annum) issued a report in 1717, which was opposed by Sir David Dalrymple as derogatory to the Scottish judicatures, and it was practically ignored. See the Duke of Roxburgh's letters on this subject in Appendix.

sold and turned into money. That can be done before the lords of Session better and sooner than any other way; but, then, who will purchase? Truly nobody; but that the Commissioners can as little help as the lords. What, then, shall be done? What had been infinitely better done three or four weeks after Preston and Dunblane—that is, pardon the proprietors, and allow them to possess their estates on payment of a fine, with regard to what would remain free after payment of debts. May I beg your lordship would be pleased to make the tender of my very sincere and dutiful service to the Countess of Stair and to Mrs Primrose."

"London, *Aug.* 15, 1717.

"I had the honour to write on Monday by the ordinary, and on Tuesday, about seven in the morning, I received your lordship's by Pyot, to my great joy. Your lordship's sentiments are just and honest, but I am afraid they are too uncommon to produce any great effect. Honesty in this world is like pure gold, the more valuable as it is purer, but it cannot be wrought unless you add some mixture to debase it. If that mixture be too coarse or in too great abundance again, it begins to degenerate to counterfeit. . . . There is one place under the sun where men by a long use of counterfeit wine can taste nothing that is purer. Would to God such ill habits did only affect the senses, or the dregs of the people; but your lordship's word is 'Firm,' and your little clan have taken it after your example. I think the word that the Countess's family uses is like

to be our chief comfort—'I bide my time.'* So it has been more than sixty years with your friends; their firmness has drawn down contempt and ill-usage upon them, but by waiting patiently on fast ground, they have partly overcome even envy and malice. This is certain, they have not been altogether without reward, though often rather from the hands of Providence than from leading people engaged in that interest in which your lordship and your friends have served, or from men whom you and they have effectually and personally done good to. I do not know how I come to be so much of a philosopher at this time; the sum of all is this,—there is a temper of humanity consistent with virtue which does not hinder the actions of honest men to be good, though they have a little alloy. The name and character of their actions is taken from that which predomines and directs them to worthy ends. Your lordship's family has reason to keep on in that road *firmly;* for though we have never been bribed to do well, we have found subsistence and better in that way, and have seen the counsels of the ambitious and unsettled often ruin themselves.

"When I sat down, I thought I was only to tell your lordship two or three stories from this place. We are told (by people who have often foretold to me what has come to pass) that on Sunday we shall have considerable changes. Lord Stanhope is to have white staff; Craggs, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. My author says that Lord C[arnarvon] does not like the disposal of the white staff. . . . As

* "Firme" and "I bide my time" are the mottoes respectively of the coats of arms of the families of Stair and Loudoun.

to your lordship, there has been for some time a discourse that you had been dealt with to go to Spain, but that seemed to cool. Yesterday my author says it was far from being laid aside; if it is so, I hope your lordship knows more of it than is commonly known here. My notion is that a man of consequence must necessarily be on our part sent to that court, and at the same time it is no less necessary that one of that same kind be still at the Court of France. Our great minister [Stanhope], who alone is equal to all the weight of government, does not like to go so far from this court as Spain, lest he feel the effect of an old saying, that 'he who turns his back to the Court is in danger to catch cold,' and therefore your lordship is to go. . . . As for the king's measures, a man of such sentiments as I professed and always had adhered to could not but be strongly inclined not only to submit to, but go into them with joy and zeal. It is true some things have been brought on me by surprise, and at other times things which in my opinion were exceeding dangerous to the country for which I served, and which I apprehended neither were nor could be the king's measures; and then being bound to say yes or no, I have opposed some great men. Such was the case of the Treason bill, and of late the Forfeited estates Inquiry bill, but in no case did I omit first to tell my opinion to the king's servants; nor did I ever enter in combination to diminish the credit of the Administration. . . ."*

* The "Treason Bill" here referred to was probably the Act 1st Geo. I., c. 20, providing that if any Scottish proprietor should be guilty of treason by corresponding with the Pretender, or remitting money

This chapter will close with a letter to Lord Stair from Col. Charles Cathcart :—

"CHESTER, *Aug.* 1, 1717.

"I am much ashamed, my dear Lord, to be so long in debt to you for your obliging letter of the 17th of the last month ; I must beg you will be so good to take the true reason for an excuse—I was much hurried preparing myself for this Irish expedition. My Lady Stair had prevented me in asking my master [Duke of Marlborough] for his picture ; he spoke most obligingly of your lordship when I put him in mind of it, and gave directions that Sir Godfrey should have orders to draw it immediately, and of the size as you should desire it ; it's to be a copy. He made his excuses for not sitting for an original ; that is what I know he hates of all things in the world. But I have recommended it to Purcell to manage matters so between our master and Sir Godfrey that he may sit if it were but half-an-hour for the finishing. Purcell has undertaken it, and George Skeene has been made acquainted with him to put him in mind. I am very glad I can assure your lordship, you continue to be in great favour ; and what did me no small pleasure was to hear your friends Montrose and Baillie very well spoken of. He showed me the greatest marks of his kindness ; when I took leave he told me, amongst other things, that my interest stood as well with him as I could wish, and that when it lay in his power he would do me good with-

for his use, whether within or without the realm, or be adherent to the Pretender, and be thereof convicted and attainted, he shall be liable to the pains of treason. Other provisions referred to the disposal of the traitor's lands.

out being put in mind. I knew your lordship would be sorry for the removes that have happened in the army; the weight of that measure is laid upon the *fat shoulders;* it establishes an unlucky precedent for the folks of our trade.* Now that Lord Forester and L—— are in some measure provided for, I hope it will be the easier for your lordship to put your regiment in the hands of your humble servant, when it shall be thought for your interest to part with it. I give you joy for the loss of your worthy Lieut.-colonel.

"Major Skeene has no doubt acquainted your lordship how the negotiation about Mrs Kennedy's project stands. I found her in great want, poor woman, and I made bold to advise George [Skeene] to let her have ten pounds on your lordship's accompt. If your lordship has any commands for me in the kingdom of Ireland, you will be pleased to direct for me at Lucas's coffee-house, Dublin. I offer my most humble services to my Lady Stair and Miss Primrose. Molly Bellenden desires Mr Gardiner will remember her combs." †

* Col. Cathcart no doubt refers here to the Countess of Darlington, one of the royal mistresses, who took a marvellous interest in army patronage. She was round and fat, while the Duchess of Kendal was tall and thin.

† The Hon. Mary or Molly Bellenden, the sender of this message to Captain Gardiner, was maid of honour to Caroline, Princess of Wales, along with Mary Lepel (Lady Hervey) and Mary Farringdon (mother of George Selwyn). Of these three Marys of the eighteenth century, the two first-named were particularly distinguished by their beauty and lively wit. Mary Bellenden was the heroine of a romance in real life. The Prince of Wales (George II.) devoted his admiration to her, but in vain. Her heart and ultimately her hand were given to Col. John Campbell, at this time with Col. Cathcart in the Prince of Wales's household. She died before her husband, who many years afterwards became fourth Duke of Argyle; her eldest son, the fifth duke, marrying one of the two Miss Gunnings.

CHAPTER XI.

Condition of the Jacobites—Letters of Bolingbroke to Stair—Sir D. Dalrymple on the Jacobites—Ill success of the Treason Commission for trying Scottish absentees—Mr John Willes, K.C.—Daniel Defoe—Lord Stair taken to task by Mr Craggs—French finances—Mr Law—Lord Stanhope.

At the commencement of the year 1718, the Jacobites, dispirited and exhausted, were making no stir at home, and abroad they were not in the meantime wanted by any power who had warlike projects in view against Great Britain. Lord Stair at Paris kept a vigilant eye upon their movements, retaining in working condition his machinery of espionage and intelligence. The detention at Innspruck, this spring, of the Princess Clementina Sobieski, when on her way to marry the Chevalier in Italy, was a proceeding equally unworthy of the British government who pressed for it, and of the Emperor who authorised it.

Lord Bolingbroke had now entirely abjured the cause of the Pretender. Keeping up a friendly correspondence with Lord Stair, he was endeavouring to make his peace with the British government :—

Viscount Bolingbroke to the Earl of Stair.

"*Jan.* 27, 1718.*

"We have letters from Paris, which tell us that the Ottoman court seems to recover spirit, and the prospect of peace on that side to diminish; that the peace with the Czar and the kings of Poland and Prussia on one side, and the Almanzor of the North [Charles XII.] on the other side, is made, and that a marriage is negotiating for the Pretender with a princess of Courland. Is there any foundation for the least part of all this stuff? How is your health? Give a country Put satisfaction upon the first, and a friend upon the last article. I am not surprised that I have no fresh letters from London; the interruption of the session calms everything for some days. I hope my last came to your hands. Adieu, my dear Lord.—I am ever most faithfully your's.

"Madame de Villette, whose health mends very much, assures Lady Stair and you of her most faithful service. I beg leave to assure my Lady of mine. Have you heard what his Holiness says in answer to the king's message?"

The Same to the Same.

"MARILLY, *July* 6, 1718.

"I got hither yesterday about four in the morning, and shall not stir till I take a journey to Monfermeil,† where I long to pass a few days with you and

* Stair Papers, vol. xvi. This letter, undated as to place and unsigned, was no doubt written from Bolingbroke's country residence in France.

† A country place which Lord Stair had taken on lease in the neighbourhood of Paris.

Lady Stair. Let me beg of you to have particular care of the enclosed for Brinsden. The Attorney-general starts a difficulty which, if it were founded, would mine me. The best lawyers in England are of another opinion, and I have reason to believe the Commissioners are so likewise. However, they put off the settlement of that on which my bread depends whilst I am abroad. . . . Madame de Villette is just returned, and makes her kindest compliments to you and to my Lady. I thought the Spa water would have come hither with the baggage, and I had secured a boat to carry it to Paris; but she has sent it directly from Charleville, and has writ you notice of it. She says that she will neither see Paris nor any body who belongs to it; yet some time hence, when you have vacation enough to be settled at Monfermeil, she will come to see my Lady and you. If you take that occasion of executing the project which we made of seeing Chantilly, you must speak, or I must write to the Chevalier de Matignon, who will take care to choose a time when Monseigneur le Duc is absent and no company there, and to get us the apartments of the little castle.—I am, my dear Lord, for ever most sincerely your faithful B——.

"If my Lord Stanhope be still with you, I desire to assure him of my humble service."

The Same to the Same.

"*Dec.* 4, 1718.

"I thank you very kindly, my dear Lord, for the good-natured part which you take in the last adven-

ture which has happened to me. Was you not my friend, the proceeding would, I am confident, raise your indignation. The opening of the parliament in the manner you mention is an article of the best news I have heard this long time. It puts the session out of all jeopardy, and the ministers *hors de page*. We shall soon see what use will be made of this advantage. My faith and hope will hold out to the end of the session; my charity will always last.

"The waters continue so low that nothing can go down the river even now in the month of December. Should the frost come before the rains, the sending provisions to Paris will be put off for a good while. Nothing else has hindered or shall hinder the despatch of the forage which you want, and which I have taken care to secure the refusal of. This delay may probably give time for paying in some money which is due to me at Paris, in which case you need not give yourself the trouble of sending me notice who to draw upon at Paris. Adieu, my dear Lord. No man loves or honours you more truly than B."

A letter of the lord Advocate in August of this year regarding a Forfarshire Jacobite of well-known family, concludes with a notice of the Commission issued for trying absent Jacobites, and prepares the way for an account by Mr John Willes, K.C. (afterwards Chief Justice Willes), of his want of success in the government prosecutions:—

Sir D. Dalrymple to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *Aug.* 2, 1718.

"I had a visit from Mr Fothringham, a son of Powrie's, upon Thursday last, of which I ought to have given your lordship an account by Thursday's post. Some months ago a lady wrote to me to see her, and then she told me that she had been employed to procure a licence to come home in favour of Powrie; that she had accordingly applied to a certain foreigner for that end, who seemed willing to assist her, but that in the progress of the affair he told her he met with opposition from the Duke of Roxburgh and Earl Cadogan, but at last she had obtained assurance of a licence. In the mean time Mr Fothringham, the son, insisted to have a pardon, which had put her into new difficulties, and she begged of me to recommend the affair to this certain foreigner, whom, upon my promise to comply, she was ready to name. But I told her I knew Powrie, and pitied him; he is now advanced in years and of a good family, but he is a bigot and naturally violent. Though I believed he was not more guilty than others, yet his rigorous way during his short-lived government of Dundee had distinguished him; and his conduct, since he went to France, had been no wiser, so I would not meddle. . . . The lady begged me to write to your lordship to give a favourable account of him. I told her I knew that he had been so wise as never to pay any respect to you, but, on the contrair, drank and

roared with his dear Jacobites, so that to write to you was in vain, nor would I undertake it. Upon this, it seems Powrie has been wrought to ask admission to Lady Stair and to your lordship, but was denied.

"At last Mr Fothringham, the son, came to me on Thursday, and spoke with much submission for his father, and told me that he was ready to petition to have leave to come home to die, and to give the most humble assurance of his desire to live under the protection of the laws; in short, he begged me to write to your lordship about it, which now I do, laying the whole case nakedly before you. I have no interest but that of the Government; I wish that all who are abroad, not attainted, were at home upon submission. I dare say they have had the surfeit of their fling, and would never venture to embroil us more. One thing I beg leave to observe; there is a commission of *Oyer and Terminer* * either sent down or just ready to be sent down to Scotland for trying or finding bills against those who have fled beyond seas, which in my judgment will be not only fruitless, but hurt the government if it miscarries. I take it, one of the best reasons for sending that commission is, to oblige the people that have fled beyond seas to ask leave to come home. My paper is ended. God bless your lordship, my lady Stair, and Mrs Primrose."

* By the 7th Anne, c. 21, introducing into Scotland the English Treason law, trials for treason might take place either in the Scottish Justiciary court or before a special commission of Oyer and Terminer sitting in Scotland.

John Willes, Esq., K.C., to the Duke of Roxburgh.

"PERTH, *Sept.* 29, 1718.*

"Your Grace will receive so many letters by the messenger that brings this, that there will be, I am sure, but little occasion for me to say any thing. However, I thought it my duty to give your Grace a short account of what has happened here. Yesterday, in the morning, the Grand Jury was sworn. They were fully acquainted with the nature of the manner of proceeding and of what was their duty in this respect, and also of the intention of the king in this commission and of the reasons that made it necessary, and likewise that they could not take any notice of the Act of Grace. But notwithstanding, they were so poisoned before by notions which have been industriously inculcated in them by his Majesty's enemies and false friends, that they came determined to find no bill unless it was proved to them that the persons had been abroad and were returned again without licence. At the first we tried them with a bill against one Freebairn, against whom there was the clearest and fullest evidence; but they could not find it, wherefore we prayed that the evidence might be examined in court; and thereupon, it appearing what the scruples of the jury were, we spent near two hours in giving an answer to them;

* Stair Papers, vol. xviii. Mr John Willes, K.C., afterwards Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, conducted, along with Mr Sergeant Hanbury, the unsuccessful Government prosecutions in Scotland in autumn 1718. This circumstance is not mentioned in the life of C. J. Willes by Lord Campbell. A letter of Sergeant Hanbury, to the same effect as that of Mr Willes, is given in the Appendix to this chapter.

but they would not vouchsafe to have the least regard to any thing that was said to them, either by the court or us. This their behaviour left us no room to doubt. However, we thought proper to try them with another bill in the afternoon, and accordingly presented one against one Fullerton of Fullerton, whom we were satisfied several of the jury knew not only to have been abroad, but likewise to have returned home again. But this bill likewise they returned 'Ignoramus.' Wherefore finding, as we apprehended at first, that they were resolved to find no bills, it was thought proper to adjourn the court till after we have been at Kelso, in order to have his Majesty's pleasure and your lordship's directions in this behalf. But so much I dare take upon me to say, that for a reason which your lordship will easily guess, it will be impossible at present to get a jury in this country that will find against any of the rebels. And I am afraid it will be difficult in any other country, so long as a person now in England, and of great power as well as in a great post here, has the faculty of coining objections; for I find that all which have been started by him are current for law, and it is absolutely impossible to persuade the people to be of a different opinion.* The Lord Justice-Clerk [Cockburn] and Mr Solicitor-general [Dundas] will, I am sure, bear me witness that I have done what I could, as I am in justice bound to say the same of them: success was not in our power. We shall go on to the other places

* The allusion in this passage is to the Lord Advocate, Sir David Dalrymple, whose law upon the present occasion appears to have been sounder than that of Mr Willes. His opinion upon the general question of the prosecutions is intimated at the close of the foregoing letter of August 2.

till we receive orders to the contrary; but I am sure some other method must be thought of, for this will not do."

Mr Willes was correct in supposing the Commission of Oyer and Terminer would be a failure; for, except at Cupar-in-Fife, where true bills were found by the Grand Juries against certain Jacobites of condition, though no trial took place, the juries in Kelso and elsewhere in Scotland ignored all the bills.*

It appears from the following letter (remarkable from its notice of Defoe) that Stair and the lord Advocate were occasionally credited with correspondence which never existed :—

Sir David Dalrymple to the Earl of Stair.

"LONDON, *October* 3, 1718.

"I was much surprised to find a paragraph in the 'Whitehall Evening Post' of Thursday last, wherein

* It is difficult to see upon what ground the Scottish juries could be blamed for ignoring, as they did, the bills against individual Jacobites who had escaped beyond seas. The juries took a common-sense view of the effect to be given to the Act of Pardon or Indemnity of 1716. Besides, by the statute of 7th Anne, c. 21, the English law of Treason was made applicable to Scotland, and therefore, according to the rule of English law, trials for treason in absence were (except in the way of attainder) in Scotland illegal. Acts of attainder were obtained from Parliament in the case of absent Jacobites of rank, as Ormond, Mar, and Bolingbroke; but because Government may have considered it unnecessary to have acts of attainder passed against such Jacobites as "one" Fullerton (a landed gentleman) and Freebairn (a printer), it by no means followed that these persons were to be subjected to an illegal trial in absence. The provisions of the 1st Geo. I., c. 20, referred to in a previous note, could hardly be founded upon by a constitutional lawyer to alter the rule of law.—See Hume on Crimes, i. 539.

your lordship's name and mine were mentioned to add credit to a piece of news, as if your lordship had written to me, and in express words told me that the Cardinal de Noailles had given the sacrament in both kinds to multitudes of people at high mass. I did that very night, though the paper came late to my hand, write to the printer complaining; and on Saturday morning Mr Defoe (who it seems is concerned in the publishing of that 'Evening Post') wrote me an answer begging pardon, and sent it by one of his people, to know in what manner he should retract. I told him, by declaring that he was imposed on and that there was no such letter as he had mentioned in his last, which he promised to do. I send your lordship both the 'Evening Post' and the copy of my letter to the printer. The retractation has not been simply and by itself, as your lordship will perceive; but I can get no more of him. The news takes, and will be dressed in four or five papers more, to be sure, for sale. One thing I have learned, and that is, that Defoe is partner in some Whig newspaper, as well as in 'Mist's Journal;' but in the Whig papers he serves only to give hints of news to support the credit of his Tory journal.* He is a very great rogue, that is certain. The liberty these kind of people take is so monstrous, that it will make a vigorous care necessary. . . ."

Lord Stair's tendency to excess in his expenditure has already been noticed. In the peculiar circum-

* Mist's Journal was a newspaper undertaken to oppose the Government of George I. and the Hanover Succession. A collection of Essays, originally printed in this Journal, upon manners and politics, appeared in 1722, in two volumes.—See Drake's Essays, 2d series.

stances of his embassy, at a time when so much money was required (with the knowledge and at the instance of his Government) for secret services and the procuring of intelligence, some excuse must be made for his official expenses exceeding the regular allowances; but as regards his personal and household expenditure, he must himself bear the blame of it. His moderate private estate was seriously affected by this expenditure, and never recovered the burden of debt which it occasioned.

It is beyond question also that he addicted himself, when in Paris, to gaming and stock-jobbing (with the mistaken view, probably, of repairing his fortune) to an extent which, in the case of an ambassador, was reprehensible, and for which he was taken to task by his friend Craggs in a private letter.

"COCKPIT, *October* 30, 1718.

". . . Your expenses are exorbitant, and I do not see how they will be made up to you. I am upon this occasion going to say a disagreeable thing, which is, that you cannot imagine what prejudice your play does you with everybody, and how much it enervates the attempts of your friends to serve you. It is wonderful you should not find out yet that you will never make your fortune that way. I am fully convinced, if you was never so good an economist, you would find it difficult to live within bounds; but I know by experience that, whether one wins or loses, all other expenses are neglected and despised by a deep gamester. If you were to take this never so ill, I cannot be sorry at having said it, if it can have any effect with you. God knows, I desire nothing hardly

more than to be serviceable to you; and your qualifications and services might carry you where you pleased, were it not for that damnable witchcraft. . . . I will not make any excuse for what I write, because I am sure I have spoke honestly and friendly, and I cannot just now think of another body I would say so much to."

If the ambassador's private exchequer showed a deficit, the finances of the French government were in a still more hopeless condition. Law was the genius who now proposed to extricate the Regent from his pecuniary distresses :—

*The Earl of Stair to Earl Stanhope.**

"PARIS, *August* 25, 1718.

"Since your departure from this, I have unceasingly laboured to bring the Abbé Dubois and Mr Law well together. You were desirous of this for very good reasons; I have discovered reasons still more pressing for my acting with zeal. It is avowed here on all hands that the expenditure of the government exceeds the income by 25 millions annually. In this situation it is impossible the Duke of Orleans can be useful to his friends, or even maintain his own position. All other people confess they do not know any remedy for the evil; Law alone says that he will extricate the Regent from the difficulty, provided he will follow his plan, and put the administration of the finances in his hands: Law says that the Regent is convinced of the truth of his system, but the Keeper of the seals and the other dabblers in finance

* The original of this letter is in French. Stair Papers, vol. xiii., A.

have dissuaded his Royal Highness from allowing it to be put in execution. The Abbé Dubois says, that if what Law asserts be true—if his system be good, and capable of extricating the state from difficulty, he must be employed; but that Law cannot be trusted upon his own word, and must communicate his plan to two or three persons in the confidence of the Duke of Orleans; and if those persons were convinced that his plan is good, they ought to advise the Duke to put it in execution without delay. Law has agreed to open himself without reserve, and to explain his system to the Abbé and M. Le Blanc. It is some days since they were to have met for this purpose, but they have not yet seen each other. God knows, when Law shall have his audience of them, if they will be content with him and his system. What makes it dangerous to employ Law is, that every one is against him, and that the Duke of Orleans, in the present situation of his affairs, would run a great risk in putting the administration of the finances into the hands of a stranger so generally hated, even if his system were good: on the other hand, should the Regent not find a prompt remedy for so dangerous an evil, he is lost; and no one proposes such a remedy. This derangement of his finances will prevent the Regent from ever taking a vigorous step.*

* Notwithstanding the doubts expressed in this letter as to Law and his system finding favour with the Regent's Government, Mr Law very soon reached a position of influence in Paris, more remarkable, while it lasted, than any imagination could picture. Lady M. W. Montagu, in a letter from Paris in October of this year, writes: "I must say I saw nothing in France that delighted me so much as to see an Englishman, at least a Briton, absolute at Paris; I mean Mr Law, who treats their dukes and peers extremely *de haut en bas*."

" . . . The Regent told me to-day a thing which would cause him much pain. I should be in despair if it were true; but as this does not come from Monteleon [the French minister in London] I do not believe it,—that you think of giving up politics. This appears to me impossible; you love too much your country's good to think of it, and you have served the king too well and too usefully to give any occasion of thinking of such a thing. As you see, my Lord, that there is sufficient uncertainty in affairs abroad, I hope you will not neglect any means of fortifying the party of the king within the kingdom, and of putting an end to our divisions so far as possible. The chief of these means is to be strong at home. This will give both vigour and courage to our friends who want them, and will discourage our enemies who found so much upon the animosities that reign amongst ourselves. It will be a great advantage to us to be able to open parliament with a large majority. I believe that Spain will await the opening of parliament to determine itself for peace or war.

" I could not finish my letter without thanking you for the pardon you obtained for Lady Stair's nephew. She is most grateful for it, and begs herself to make her acknowledgments to you. The Regent has to-day promised the Abbey de Preaux to Mr Strickland.* He goes on Saturday to Vienna."

With reference to the report alluded to in this letter, of Lord Stanhope's intention to retire from office, his lordship wrote to Stair in September :—

* An English Roman Catholic priest.

". . . I am very much obliged to the Regent and to you for the concern you expressed at what hath been so industriously rumoured concerning me. I assure you that never was lie set about with so little foundation; for if there has been any period of time since the king's coming to his crown at which, more than at another, I have been intent to carry on his service, and at which his Majesty hath been good and gracious to me, it hath been since my return from France. It hath been judged a necessary measure to make the reduction of troops you will have heard of; it will certainly secure the taking good resolutions at the opening of the parliament, and such as will enable his Majesty to raise a greater number whenever it shall be necessary. If it should tempt the Jacobites to raise any fresh disturbance, they will pay for it in the end. We are preparing everything to sign with the Savoyards.—I am ever, with the most sincere respect, my good Lord, &c."

(*Signed*) Stanhope

CHAPTER XII.

Diplomatic preparations for the Quadruple Alliance—Difficulty of the negotiation—The Prime minister's journey to Paris and Madrid—Completion of the treaty between England and the Regent—Joint despatch of Stanhope and Stair—Ill success of Lord Stanhope's visit to Spain—Question as to cession of Gibraltar.

The chief public matter to which Lord Stair's attention now became directed was the important negotiation preparatory to and resulting in the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance between Britain, France, Holland and the Empire. The project of this treaty, which was based, like the Triple Alliance of the previous year, upon the Utrecht treaties, was prepared by Lord Stanhope in January 1718, and sent by him to Stair.* Besides the provisions for mutual guarantee and assistance, the articles related to the future succession to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, to the making over of Sicily to the Emperor, and the granting of Sardinia instead of it to the Duke of Savoy, to the garrisons of Tuscany and

* Earl Stanhope to the Earl of Stair, Jan. 23 and Feb. 17, 1718—Stair Papers, vol. xiii., A. These despatches are printed in the Appendix to the first volume of Earl Stanhope's History of England from drafts or copies,—the originals in his ancestor's handwriting being among the Stair Papers. Two letters of Lord Stanhope to Stair, in March 1718, following upon those now mentioned, are printed in the Appendix to this chapter.

Parma, and the mutual renunciations of the Emperor and the king of Spain.

What with the jealousy and punctiliousness of the court of Vienna, the extreme care of the Dutch for their commercial interests, and the indecision of the Regent Orleans, who—still actuated by some traditional tenderness for Spain, very ill requited, hesitated about carrying out to its logical consequence the policy of his recent alliance with England and Holland — the adjustment of the treaty was no easy matter. As regards Spain, all the efforts of diplomacy were tried in order to bring her over to the views of France and England.

Cardinal Alberoni affected at first to be moved by the representations of these Powers, although he vigorously protested against the proposal to cede Sicily to the Emperor,—a proposal which was also distasteful to the court of Turin. But all the while he was strenuously pushing forward his preparations for another warlike expedition.

Whatever may be objected otherwise to the Abbé Dubois, there can be no doubt he was favourable to the English alliance and personally attached to Lord Stanhope, with whom, in preference to Stair, he liked to transact business. The Abbé's presence in London at this time left the Regent more exposed to the influence of the Maréchal d'Huxelles, minister of foreign affairs at Paris, and a zealous adherent of the old French national party; and there was great reason to fear, from the opposition of this party, that the negotiations of the treaty would fall through. In these circumstances the Abbé recommended to the British government that Stanhope himself should

make a visit to Paris, and probably afterwards to Madrid, in order to keep matters straight and bring the negotiation, if possible, to a satisfactory conclusion. This advice was taken, and in June Lord Stanhope wrote to Stair from London : *—

"*June* 11, 1718.

"I have been with the Abbé Dubois, who has shown me other letters from France which strengthen more and more the suspicions abovementioned, that the torrent of opposition to this plan is so great in France that it is much to be feared the Regent may be drawn aside and brought into measures with the kings of Spain and Sicily [Sardinia]. The Abbé has been under so much anxiety upon this account, that he has thought it necessary that the king should make an extraordinary step to prevent any such impressions as are apprehended taking place with the Regent; and he accordingly proposed and pressed that his Majesty should send me over to France immediately, to act jointly with your Excellency for fixing his Royal Highness in our project without fear of a relapse. These representations gave his Majesty the uneasiness your Excellency will easily imagine; and what passed in the last conference, with the new alterations proposed, confirmed the doubts the Abbé was filled with : so that his Majesty has thought fit to order me to prepare to go to Paris, and to carry with me instructions and a full power to your Excellency and me to adjust the plan upon the foot of the alterations made here, to settle the article of

* Stair Papers, vol. xiii., A.

the garrisons as near as we can to what I wrote to your lordship, and to make a convention with the Regent for signing [the treaty] upon that model, and in the mean time for assisting each other in case of any rupture on this account. As open dealing in these affairs is the best policy, I have, by order, acquainted M. Penterridter [the Austrian minister] with the state of our project, &c. Wherefore I believe I shall set out in three or four days as soon as my despatches are ready, and shall think myself happy to be joined with your Excellency and to be conducted by your skill in the finishing this most important negotiation. If we succeed in this, and the engagement above-mentioned be signed by the Regent, the king is of opinion that it may be proper that I should proceed to Spain, if his Royal Highness shall likewise think it of use; for if I am empowered to speak in his Majesty's name, seconded by his fleet, and have leave to produce the instrument signed by the Regent, it is judged here that, notwithstanding all Cardinal Alberoni's rodomontades, he will reflect more seriously and come into more prudent and pacific measures than those he purposes at present. . . . The Abbé has showed me the remarks which you are to receive from the Maréchal d'Huxelles, and a letter from a friend of his warning him not to recede or give up the least point contained in these remarks; which confirms his suspicion that it is a measure concerted by Torcy, d'Huxelles and Villeroi to remove the negotiation from Paris, where it ought to end, and to let it drop here in his hands. Your lordship being apprised of this, will be the better able to disappoint it. I think it

evident, by this behaviour of the Abbé, that he is thoroughly sincere, for he puts himself absolutely in our power; since the least hint given to the Regent of the jealousy he has conceived of his master, and of his acquainting and warning us thus frankly of it, must utterly ruin him. This proceeding of his does, I think, entitle him to all possible returns of confidence on our side, and has been the occasion of our communicating all our thoughts very freely to him, which, I dare say, he has made no other use of than to promote according to the best of his skill the conclusion of this work. I have thought it necessary to explain thus fully to your lordship all that I know or think upon this whole matter. I take the liberty to bespeak a bed at your house, where I hope to kiss your hands about the middle of next week. I beg of you that this journey may not in the mean time slacken your endeavours. A prince of the Regent's temper may be in the humour of concluding one day what it will cost great pains to bring him to, if any opportunity be let slip. . . ."

In the present century, when the calls upon his attention and thought are so multifarious, a Prime minister would probably not feel himself justified in undertaking a diplomatic mission abroad. It was different in the time of Lord Stanhope, who, in the interval of parliament, had no very pressing business of importance besides foreign affairs to occupy him in London, and who was unquestionably the ablest foreign minister in his cabinet. As it was, he set out immediately for Paris, where he resided with Stair at

the British Embassy, and had several conferences with the Regent. At Paris he received, through the hands of Mr Craggs, the requisite credentials and powers for his mission to Spain, accompanied by an anxious expression of apprehension on the part of the king (who leant much upon Stanhope) lest he should be seized and detained by Alberoni; Lord Stair being at the same time recommended to provide, along with the Regent, for his safe return.*

The efforts of the premier and of the ambassador at Paris to have the treaty concluded were crowned with success. The following joint despatch, while relating the circumstances of the signing of the treaty, gives a photograph view of the Regent and his council :—

Earls Stair and Stanhope to Mr Secretary Craggs. †

"PARIS, *July* 18, 1718.

"We were on Sunday the 17th with his Royal Highness the Regent about one o'clock, who began by saying that he was now 'sur de son fait,' and that at the meeting of the council of regency at half-past three, the Maréchal d'Huxelles would speak strongly in favour of the treaty; ‡ and when we

* Mr Secretary Craggs to Lords Stair and Stanhope, June 30, 1718 —Stair Papers.

† The draft or copy of the original is in French, as a paper to be laid before the king. Stair Papers, vol. iii., B.

‡ It appears, from a joint letter of the same date to Earl Cadogan at the Hague, that Lords Stanhope and Stair had prevailed on the Regent to lay the draft treaty before the council of regency, so that, on the council approving of it, the treaty might become more sure in itself, and be regarded in France as not merely a private affair of the Regent, but a public Act.

seemed to doubt this, he drew from his pocket a paper, which was the notes for the Maréchal's speech. It was all very good, and full of as strong reasons as we ourselves could have alleged; and we congratulated the Regent on his firmness. He spoke with great openness, saying there was nothing in the northern negotiation at Aland, that things went right in Holland, and he had strong ground for believing that nothing was as yet signed or fixed between the kings of Spain and Sicily; that the latter insisted on exorbitant conditions, and was dissatisfied with the last answer he had had from Spain; that he had, however, sent orders into Sicily to cause the troops to be withdrawn from Palermo and Augusta; but this step decided nothing, and did not necessarily prove any concert, since the wisest part this prince could take, even though the Spaniards were to make a hostile landing in Sicily, was to assemble the small force in that quarter at Messina and other convenient stations. This intelligence made us regard the present conjuncture as very fit for pressing the Regent as to Spain, and we put before him the proposal of Lord Stanhope to take a journey into that country. As to the journey the Regent's sentiments had varied, but now he spoke of it with great ardour and as of a proceeding which, if things came to the worst, would free from all blame with the world in general both the king of Great Britain and himself, should the obstinacy of the Cardinal reduce us to the necessity of having recourse to force; but he seemed to think this journey at the present juncture would probably produce a better result, and perhaps prevent

a rupture. He even gave us some light as to the 'Carte' of Spain, which may be useful; and he promised to let us know what passed at the council. He sent to us, about seven in the evening, Count de Nocé, to say that all had gone as well as could be wished, and we should ask the Maréchal d'Huxelles to fix an hour for signing the treaty. . . . M. Pegnet, who had assisted at the council, told M. Schaub that the affair passed unanimously, and that the Regent, after hearing the treaties read, had talked divinely, and the Maréchal had done wonders; and Pegnet also told M. Schaub that it was he who made the notes for the Maréchal's speech.

"This morning, at eleven, we have been with the Maréchal d'Huxelles, and have now the pleasure of intimating that all has been signed by the Maréchal, M. de Chiverny, and by us. The French ministers put before us a declaration bearing that the most Christian king would not hold himself bound beyond the space of three months by this convention if the Emperor did not sign the treaty within that time. We thought we could not refuse accepting this declaration by a formal act, which we signed. On leaving the Maréchal's, we went to make our compliments to the Regent, and were mutually well satisfied. We agreed that Lord Stanhope should go into Spain, and that the Regent should despatch a courier to-morrow to Madrid to demand a passport, which secures me [Lord Stanhope] in any event. I shall write by this courier to the Cardinal, and shall set off in two days for Bayonne, where the courier, on his return from Madrid, will bring me the Cardinal's answer and the passport.

"We are getting all the papers copied which have been already signed, to send to Vienna and Holland, after which we shall send you the originals, from which you will have the ratifications prepared, to be exchanged in fifteen days at London. We have not, however, lost a moment in letting you know this good news.

(Signed) STAIR.
STANHOPE.

"*P.S.*—M. Pegnet has conducted himself very well in the whole of this matter, and has had to work a great deal. We think ourselves obliged to give him some testimony of this, and to beg that you will recommend him to the king in order that his Majesty may command a present to be made to him as a recompense; and in this case you will have the goodness to cause to be sent to me, Lord Stair, a diamond of the value at least of £500, which shall be remitted to him.*

"Pray tell the Abbé Dubois that I, Lord Stanhope, shall answer his letter before I go to Spain."

The Quadruple Treaty was signed not long after this on the part of the Emperor; the signing of the Dutch states being delayed till the ensuing spring

* In a despatch from Mr Craggs to Lord Stair, July 17th, 1718 o.s. (Stair Papers, vol. xiii., B), the following passage as to M. Pegnet's ring occurs: "I send your lordship the ring for M. Pegnet; which his Majesty desires him to wear for his sake, as a small token of his Majesty's sense of the great pains and trouble he has had in all this affair. The ring cost the late queen £1000; she gave it to my lady Masham, who sold it to us for £620." It appears from Mr Craggs' letter of September 1st (printed along with other letters of his in the Appendix), that M. Pegnet declined the present of the ring.

by their slow republican forms and by considerations as to the interests of their trade. The Scoto-Dutch family of Hopes or Hops, who had great influence in the counsels of the province of Holland, took a decided part against the British minister at the Hague (Lord Cadogan), and against Lord Stair during the negotiation of the treaty, seconding, so far as they could, the efforts of the Spanish ambassador.

Armed with his credentials and passport, Lord Stanhope proceeded to Madrid, and found the Court at the Escurial. From Fresnada, a place in the neighbourhood of the palace-monastery, he despatched two letters to England, narrating his proceedings.* Upon his return journey he wrote to Lord Stair from Bayonne: "The king talked longer to me than he does usually, with less heat and emotion than the first time I saw him, but with an air, I think, as much determined as possible to abide all extremities. The cardinal [Alberoni] shed tears when I parted with him, has promised to write to me, and to let slip no occasion that may offer of adjusting matters. Upon the whole, I am of opinion that before next spring *fata viam invenient* of adjusting this business amicably; notwithstanding the ill success I have had, I am far from repenting my having made this journey."

Although nothing is said expressly of Gibraltar in Lord Stanhope's letters from Spain, there can hardly be a doubt that an offer to cede Gibraltar was among the secret articles of the proposed treaty communi-

* These letters are printed in the Appendix to the first volume of Earl Stanhope's History of England.

cated to the Cardinal; and there can be as little doubt that the offer was declined. That the offer was made may be inferred from the fact of Secretary Craggs having written to Stanhope, when about to leave Paris for Spain, that he was ordered to let him know that the king approved of his (Lord Stanhope's) proposition relating to Gibraltar (viz., its cession to Spain (with certain conditions as to trade) in the event of the court of Spain coming into the views of the allies); and in case it were found that this would lead to a settlement, Lord Stanhope was authorised to make that offer when he should judge it expedient.* That the offer was declined is proved by the self-evident fact of the ill success of the negotiation, and the continuance of hostilities on the part of Spain.

Lord Stanhope made his return journey without let or hindrance; and after a short stay in Paris, and conference with the ambassador, arrived in London in the end of September.

* Extract from Mr Craggs' letter, July 17, 1718, printed in Appendix to vol. i. of Earl Stanhope's History of England.

CHAPTER XIII.

Spanish expedition against Sicily—Admiral Sir George Byng and the British fleet—Naval engagement off Cape Pessaro—Byng's despatches to Stair and Craggs—Seizure of English merchant-ships and effects on the Spanish coasts—Hesitation in France to declare war against Spain—Efforts of Stair to decide the Regent Orleans not so effectual as the discovery of a plot against him contrived by Alberoni—Declaration of war against Spain by England and France—Letters to Lord Stair of Colonel Cathcart, Lord Finch, Earl of Galloway, Duke of Montrose, and Lord Burford.

At the very time when the Quadruple Alliance was in the act of being concluded, and ineffectual attempts were making by negotiation to stay the warlike operations of Alberoni, the Spanish armament, consisting of a fleet of ships of war and transports conveying a powerful army under the Marquis de Lede, was sailing from Barcelona. The destination of the expedition this year was Sicily, as last year it had been Sardinia; and the troops having landed in the beginning of July a short distance from Palermo, that capital with its citadel almost immediately surrendered. Preparations were forthwith made by the Spaniards for the taking of Messina and the reduction of the whole island.*

* This decisive proceeding hastened what Lords Stanhope and Stair had for some months been labouring in vain to bring about, the accession of the Court of Turin to the new treaty.—Stair Papers, vol. xv.

Scarcely had Messina been invested by the Spanish force, when the sails of another fleet became visible in the bay of Naples. Diffident, apparently, of the result of their diplomacy, the British government had despatched a fleet, under the command of Sir George Byng, to watch the proceedings of the Spaniards in the Mediterranean and maintain by the strong hand, if necessary, the guarantee undertaken by England, in terms of previous treaties, for the neutrality of the Italian states, and for the maintenance of the rights of the Emperor in Italy.

Sir George Byng was instructed to use all efforts in his power to bring about a cessation of hostilities, should these have actually commenced; but in case his friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, he should, by keeping company with or intercepting the Spanish ships or convoys, or, if necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the Emperor's territories from any further attempts.*

With reference to his instructions, Lords Stanhope and Stair wrote jointly to Byng (21st July 1718), after having received intelligence of the surrender of Palermo :—

"This attempt of the Spaniards is not only a manifest violation of the treaty made at Utrecht betwixt England and France, and England and Spain, and of the treaty of neutrality, but tends evidently, and is most certainly calculated, to kindle a war which, if not timely prevented, must engage all Europe in a flame, and defeat the measures taken in

* Article 4 of Instructions for Sir G. Byng, May 26, 1718—Stair Papers, vol. xv.

concert by his Majesty and the most Christian king to settle a solid and lasting peace. . . . We therefore, having read the fourth article of your Instructions, by which you are directed, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the Spaniards if they should endeavour to make themselves master of the kingdom of Sicily, are of opinion that you cannot do a greater service to his Majesty than strictly and vigorously to pursue the said instructions. And whereas provision is made by express words, in the said article of your instructions, for your conduct in case the Spaniards should, before your arrival, have landed any troops in Italy, we are of opinion that the said provision ought to govern you in the present case of their having landed in Sicily. . . . We have judged it fit for the king's service, and for your ease, to inform you without loss of time, clearly and explicitly, of our sentiments at this critical juncture, being well assured that the king our master will approve the same. We shall further add, that for the better performing the service you ought now chiefly to have in view—to wit, preventing the Spaniards being masters of Sicily and the strong places therein, as likewise any other descent they may attempt to make either in Italy or Sicily, we judge it for his Majesty's service that you concert your measures and operations with the Viceroy of Naples." *

Sir George Byng, upon entering the Mediterranean, had sailed with his fleet to Minorca, and thence, after taking on board the garrison of Port Mahon, to Naples, and had then proceeded in quest of the

* Stair Papers, vol. xiii., A.

Spaniards to the Straits of Messina. His subsequent movements and the engagement off Cape Pessaro (which was fought before he received the despatch of Lords Stanhope and Stair from Paris) are related in the following despatch : *—

Admiral Sir George Byng to the Earl of Stair.

"The Barfleur, near Reggio, *Aug.* 15, 1718.

"My Lord,—I fear it will not be possible for me to send to my lord Stanhope at Madrid, nor do I see how he can to me but by Alberoni's leave, for no post-horses nor messengers can pass on the roads but by his particular licence. It was on the 9th inst. N.S. that I anchored off the point going into the *Fare* of Messina, to which place I sent my first captain (Mr Saunders, who had the honour to wait on your lordship at Paris) to the Marquis de Lede, offering the mediation of our master for composing the differences that have arisen between the Emperor and king of Spain, and directed captain Saunders to make use of all the arguments I could think of to persuade the Spaniards to a cessation of arms. . . . My good offices had not the desired effect; and had for answer, that they had no powers to treat on that subject, but would seize on Sicily for the king of Spain, and that their admirals and generals were well instructed to defend themselves. On this answer, I intended to go into Messina. The next morning, as I was standing in for that place, I saw two of the Spanish scouts in the *Fare* (it seemed that their fleet had weighed from before Messina the day before on

* Stair Papers, vol. xv.

sight of ours), and I, having intelligence from shore that the Spanish fleet lay open with the Fare to receive us, I altered my resolution of going into Messina, and stood after their scouts, which led me in sight of their fleet, and by noon I had a fair view of them drawn up in a line of battle, in which they lay until we came near them, and then they bore away, but in line of battle. It being little wind, their galleys towed their heaviest sailers all night, and the next morning, being the 11th of this month, N.S., our fleet gaining pretty near theirs, the galleys, fire-ships, bombs, store-ships and small ships separated from their admirals and bigger ships, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; after whom I detached eight ships, which took some, ran ashore others, of whom some they burnt, but their galleys got away by the help of their oars. It was afternoon before we came up with their admirals and bigger ships, with whom we had some action, but in a running manner. They stood not long e'er they began to separate; and in the evening Admiral Castaneta, Rear-Admiral Chacon, and those ships your lordship may observe by the list I send you enclosed, fell into our hands, the rest getting away by favour of the night and little winds; but having intelligence that some of them were seen on the south side of Sicily, I detached some ships in quest of them. With the prizes I stood into Syracuse (which holds out still for the king of Sicily, and, for this country, is a pretty strong place), where, having refitted our ships and repaired the damages of the prizes sufficiently to carry them to Port Mahon, I have left vice-admiral Cornwall with a squadron to escort them thither, and am on my way to Reggio,

to concert what further measures can be taken to follow the blow. I write thus particular, that your lordship may be apprised how affairs at present are with us. As more matter shall arise, I will not fail of doing myself the honour of acquainting your lordship with it. What I observed of Messina as I passed by it,—I think by no means it should rest with the Spaniards. It would be too safe a receptacle for their fleet, Malta being their friends too, as they must always be to those that are masters of Sicily. When they are able to get a naval force together again, by the advantage of those ports they might govern the commerce of the Mediterranean, and then it is easy to judge what will become of the trade of England in the Levant and in these seas, when, even before they became masters of it, they treated our master's subjects in so arbitrary and insolent a manner as they have lately done." *

The British fleet continued in the Straits of Messina, giving its aid to the German land force, until

* It appears by a letter from Mr Henshawe, consul at Genoa, to Lord Stair (Sept. 9, 1718—Stair Papers, vol. xv.), that Admiral Byng sent his son by post from Naples to England with the news of the Spanish defeat, and that according to the Admiral's list sent to Genoa, "13 Spanish men-of-war were taken, chiefly capital ships." In the despatch to Lord Stair, quoted in the text, the only mention made of the division of the fleet under Captain Walton is simply stating that "some of the Spanish fleet were seen on the south side of Sicily, and he [Byng] detached some ships in quest of them." Captain Walton's laconic letter, announcing his successful capturing of the Spanish men-of-war "as per margin," (dated Aug. 16, off Syracuse) was not received by Sir George Byng till the 18th August.—Campbell's Naval History.

A letter of Admiral Byng to Mr Secretary Craggs, written of a later date in August than the letter he had despatched to Lord Stair, is printed in the Appendix to this chapter. I am not aware of either of these letters having been hitherto printed.

the capture by the Spaniards of the citadel of Messina in the beginning of October; after which it returned to the anchorage at Naples, remaining all winter in the Mediterranean.

Scarcely had Lord Stanhope quitted Madrid after his fruitless negotiation, and the crocodile tears shed by the Cardinal at parting with him were hardly dried, when, exasperated by the intelligence of the proceedings of Byng and the fleet in the Mediterranean, Alberoni issued orders for the seizure of all English merchant-ships on the Spanish coasts, and of the effects and property of British merchants. This sudden measure was so palpable a violation of the treaties of Utrecht, that a formal declaration of war on the part of England became now unavoidable, and was only delayed by the difficulty that stood in the way of the French court screwing itself to the point of a similar declaration against Spain, in terms of the recently concluded Quadruple Alliance. The old French party, headed by the ministers who adhered to national traditions, set their faces against such a declaration, as they had done against the quadruple treaty itself; while the Regent and the Abbé Dubois, not altogether assured of their footing in France, were unwilling to expose the French merchants and shipping in Spanish ports to the blow which had just fallen upon their new allies. The unsatisfactory state of Lord Stair's relations with Dubois, although observing the forms of polite intercourse, operated also against an immediate solution of the difficulty. In the beginning of October, Stair wrote to Lord Stanhope* that the Abbé was very unwilling that

* October 5, 1718—Stair Papers.

France should formally declare war against Spain, in which country the French had property and effects of great value, and that a middle course was proposed by the Duke of Berwick: "Monday afternoon the Marshal Berwick called, and wished to persuade me that we ought not to require the Regent to declare war against Spain, looking to the damage this would do him in France; and we should content ourselves with subsidies, so as to make war by ourselves against Spain. I represented to him all the inconveniences such a proceeding would be attended with for the Regent. He agreed that if the king demanded it, the Regent must satisfy the conditions of the treaty, but he hoped the king would not do so, from the regard he had to the Duke of Orleans."

Soon after this, Lord Stair wrote to Colonel Stanhope at Madrid: —

"PARIS, *Oct.* 18, 1718.

"I think there remains little more to be said to the court of Spain on the subject of the measures it has lately taken, since the tender regard the king has expressed for the Catholic king and his interests (which has appeared as well since the engagement of the two fleets as before) has produced no other effect than the king of Spain's making war upon the king and his subjects, and seizing their goods and effects, in violation of the solemn faith of treaties. The king will be obliged to defend himself in such a manner as will quickly convince the Cardinal that he is in a condition to do himself and his subjects justice. The first step in that matter will be his Majesty's sending

you orders to leave Madrid, which you will certainly receive unless the Catholic king should think fit to declare his accession to the treaty before the 2d of November. As to the late disposition the Cardinal has shown to retain M. de Nancré [French minister at Madrid], under the pretext of disposing the Catholic king to an accommodation, it can hardly be thought to proceed from any sincere desire of settling peace in Europe, when we consider the steps the Court of Spain is taking at the same time to set all the rest of Europe in a flame, and its different intrigues in almost every country for that purpose. Such are its negotiations with the Czar, the kings of Sweden and Prussia, its intrigues both in France and England for disturbing the quiet of these kingdoms by raising rebellions, and the Cardinal's sending for the duke of Ormond *very lately*, to confer with him in order to frame a scheme against Britain. All these steps, of which the king is perfectly informed, are very little of a piece with the desire of peace. . . . If, by the Catholic king's obstinacy and the Cardinal's ambition, it shall happen that the opportunity is lost which the king and the French king were resolved to have taken to concert measures with Spain for restraining the Emperor within the bounds prescribed by the treaty, all the ill consequences that may follow upon that will lie at the Catholic king's door. It will be in vain for the Cardinal to hope to continue to amuse us after the 2d of November, for there will be no more commerce after that time. . . . Our parliament is to meet upon the 11th of November. Our ministers are in no manner of pain about the temper that the two Houses will meet in. They seem to be per-

fectly assured that the disposition of the members will be such as we could desire it, and that they will very readily come into all the measures that will be necessary to make our treaty effectual. I cannot enough wonder at the ridiculous and malicious turn which is endeavoured to be given in the relations that I have seen come from Spain of the engagement between the two fleets; as if our fleet had surprised the Spanish fleet under colour and pretence of amity. Upon what facts do they ground this ridiculous story? Did our admiral send any message to theirs, or was there any intercourse between them the day of the battle? On the contrary, was it not very plain, by Sir George Byng's message to the Marquis de Lede, that if the Spanish army did not desist from hostilities, our fleet would act offensively? I see Lord Stanhope is still persuaded of the Cardinal's inclination to peace. I wish his lordship may not be disappointed. A few days will show us the truth of that matter."

The lagging resolution of the Regent and his minister to come to the point of a declaration of war was considerably accelerated by the fortunate discovery at Paris of that part of Alberoni's web of intrigues which had for its object a conspiracy to supplant the Regent Orleans in France, and set up king Philip of Spain as regent in his stead, with the Duke of Maine as his deputy. The Duke and Duchess of Maine were at once arrested, and sent to fortress prisons. The Spanish ambassador at Paris was seized with his papers, which, when examined, fully justified so strong a measure. This may be said to have at last decided

the French court to form a junction, *pur et simple*, with England; and the French declaration against Spain was fixed to follow close upon the declaration from the British side of the Channel.

In the end of December, Mr Craggs writes to Lord Stair: *—

"Cockpit, *Dec.* 18, 1718.

"You will see, my dear lord, how punctual we have been in our declaration, and how vigorously both Houses have addressed the king upon it. Our old friends, the new malcontents, struggled against us yesterday in the House of Commons with unusual vigour, and with the efforts, I hope, of dying men. Horace Walpole, who is brought in in the room of Sir James Bateman by the bishop of Winchester, talked above an hour by the clock; Methuen did so too, and our friend Pulteney opened against us for the first time with a great deal of bitterness, but very little argument.† They divided against the Address 107, and we for it, 178. The accession of the Dutch gives us new facilities, and I hope the punctuality of France in declaring war next Monday will be the best answer to all the impertinent insinuations dropped in yesterday's debate, as if they would fail us. You may imagine we are not a little impatient for news both from Spain and Sicily. Will it be possible for this red-hot cardinal to resist so many blows and to

* Stair Papers, vol. xiii., B.

† The Whigs and Tories were at this period, and during most of the reign of George II., subdivided respectively into two parties, — the Whigs into Courtiers and Patriots—which was, in plain English, Whigs in place and Whigs out of place; the Tories into Jacobites and Hanover Tories, or, as the Jacobites called them, Hanover Rats.—See Lord Hervey's Memoirs, vol. i.

support himself during such a precarious life as the king of Spain's, much more after his death? Among the many advantages we meet, the king and those who serve him are extremely disturbed at the *mésintelligence* between you and the little Abbé, and foresee very dangerous consequences from it. For God's sake, continue to court him. . . . I have some hints given me as if your manner of insisting and finding fault was too high. Now you know best how true this is, and can easily, if you find it necessary, take the part of insinuation instead of strong representation. . . ."

The letters to Lord Stair which follow, although not connecting expressly with the narrative, are nevertheless of interest, and help to fill out the picture of his life at this time.

The Hon. Col. Cathcart to the Earl of Stair.

"LONDON, *March* 17, 1718.

"If I had any thing to tell you that was worth while, I would have the pleasure to write to your lordship oftener. I am very little informed of what passes at St James's; and we deal very little in news at our court.* Since the great struggle in the House of Peers about the Mutiny and Desertion bill, our 'occasional conformists,' the Tories, come no more near us. For my own part, I am as glad of their room as of their company; and the friends we have left do not seem to be altogether united. In this situation I should think it were very easy for the ministry to carry the points against my master that

* Colonel Cathcart was still in the Prince of Wales's Household.

they talked of so much in the beginning of the session. I cannot doubt of their inclinations to clip his wings. Their not trying it now is the only thing I can think of to persuade me that steps are making towards a reconciliation.* The town talks much of it. We have not the least discourse of it in our family; but of late I can perceive that we talk much more moderately of the present management. I wish to God we were all at one. Without that, considering our situation at home and the prospect things have without, the vessel must sink. But people seem mad enough to be resolved to perish themselves, rather than not gratify their resentments in drowning the folks they are angry with. . . . The great men of our country have very little regard to your lordship's friends; out of sight, out of mind. There's to be an inquiry into the half-pay list soon. Little Hucheson, my lady's page, will certainly be scored off, if your lordship does not use your interest to have him continued. I believe a letter to Macartney would do it. Your lieut.-colonel longs for your answer about Auchenleck. He served in your lordship's regiment before Barlow, and I am sure he is much the better officer. . . .

"I hope the affair I mentioned to your lordship in my last will be ended next week privately.† In a fortnight I shall go down to the Bath, and from thence to Scotland, where I hope to be allowed to continue

* The discords between the king and the heir-apparent, in the reigns of George I. and George II., are frequently referred to in the Stair correspondence.

† Col. Cathcart's marriage to his cousin Marion, only daughter of Sir John Shaw of Greenock, took place soon after the date of this letter.

next winter. Sir David is very well. I offer my most humble services to my Lady Stair and Mrs Primrose.

"*P.S.*—Palleotti was hanged at six this morning. He said he was much out in his notion of this kingdom; he took it for a country of liberty, and yet he must be hanged for killing his own slave!"

Viscount Finch to the Earl of Stair.

"Burley, *April* 23, 1718.

". . . I wish the transactions and accidents of this winter had been entertaining enough to bear relating; it was but bad last year, I may say much worse this. The prospect is bad. The whole frame of nature in this little corner of the world seems unhinged at present; nor do I see when it will or can be set right. . . . A few well-chosen steady friends make up each Beauty's court. They [the ladies] quite mistake the end for which they were at first by heaven designed. Pleasure was their province, but not power. Now they all are, or think they ought to be, politicians.* Scarce such a thing is left as a coquette, but only as it helps to maintain their cause. To this height of folly whilst they run, placing their happiness in being wise, I think they have lost their way and wander from the road. They should remember still, the first woman hoping to be wise, knowing too much, long since lost Paradise. The men, to flatter their weakness, though they betray their own, give in to

* Lord Finch's fair countrywomen perusing these pages will no doubt pronounce this epistle a sinful libel. Though the letter itself has been preserved among the Stair archives, let us hope the recording Angel has blotted out from Lord Finch's account the sentiments it gives expression to, as erst he did the oath of my Uncle Toby!

this almost as much as they, and seem of late equally to have abandoned pleasure as well as principle. For my part, who am determined, whatever come of the last, never to leave the first till I am by that unkindly left, but still will follow pleasures while I have strength and youth to bear me out, nor never will yield, till, being by time disarmed, my limbs shall fail to carry me to my wishes,—I strove, but all in vain, amongst my friends to enforce this one useful precept—that women of all persuasions, sorts, or parties, were still the same and worth their care, except such as were by age deformed or nature. . . .

"Were you to see our little Court, you must wonder as much as I do at their conduct. It is strange to see that no examples of others' misfortunes, no experience of their own miscarriages, can correct their folly, or prevent their running headlong into some error of making the weakest side still, by their divisions, weaker. Were you to see that strange hurry and disorder of thought which disturbs and distracts their little affairs, you would not longer doubt of or wonder at the story of Babel, since the confusion of thought here is not less than of language there; nor do I think that miracle much greater than this. Nothing can be equal in folly to it or save them now as they stand upon the brink of ruin but a total absence of thought in another place. Great difficulties, sudden distress, and imminent danger, once made a dumb man speak, and might make a lame man try to walk. But I do certainly find it won't make blind men see. What should be I don't, what should not be I do know. One of the most unlucky of all our circumstances is this, which I had like to have passed over, and yet it

is too considerable to be forgot; we have, for our sins and by his having been disgraced at the Court, got a great man among us, who, about a year ago, or something more, was shipwrecked in a very tight vessel, and now (upon what pretence God Almighty only can tell) assures to himself the right of being pilot in a leaky one.* He has weight enough to sink the best ship in the world, but not skill enough to keep a cock-boat steady. Was I in the secret of their little affair, I would try that he might be restored to grace in another place, or fling him overboard—any thing rather than sink with him twice.

"Your friend Mansell was married, poor man, on Tuesday last; there have been difficulties which delayed it so long. Lord Mansell, after they thought they had been agreed, insisted upon having an odd £800 a-year, which was settled upon her [the bride] after Lady Shovel's death, entailed upon his family, which was looked upon as a new demand. My Lady Shovel demurred, Mansell flew out, was angry with his father, sat at home, sighed and languished at his window. Miss took pity of his sufferings, and to make him happy would have it settled to his father's mind. The clothes and all the equipage were very fine, as I am told; her very linens cost a thousand pounds. I wish he does not surfeit of clean linen, and in a little time run after a wench in rags and a dirty smock. Queen Anne (for I must always name them together) has, whilst I was in town, persecuted

* Mr Walpole is here referred to, being at this time in opposition. In the ranks of the opposition Lord Finch also was usually numbered, having in February 1716 resigned an office in the government which he had held during the first years of George I.

me to enclose a letter from her to you. I did not know whether you would have the same desire to have it as she to send it, but 'twas writ some weeks before I came away; yet I unluckily forgot to call for it. She has picked up two new lovers this winter; but the devil is in it, like Mansell, they no sooner are in love with her but they marry elsewhere: 'tis fatal being her lover. The two were Lord Glenorchy and Lord Harold, and since it is so, I dare not be it, for I shall hereafter look upon being in love with her as the first attack the devil makes upon a young fellow towards matrimony. And therefore, as I seldom or almost never yet thought in that way, but always pray devoutly against temptation, I think it best to withstand the very first step that looks towards it. It is not worth while to give you any account of the several other marriages, of which you will by the prints be informed. Not that I decline the subject out of any disrespect to the happy state, or that I suspect myself to be in any immediate danger of it; but I really think the pleasures of simple matrimony, without any other accidents concurring to make it diverting, are like a miser's riches, hoarded up only for the use of themselves, and nothing left for the entertainment of standers by. There is now and then an exception to this rule, and such is the match the widow Middleton is going to make. She designs to bestow herself on Sir Scipio Hill. He has had so far encouragement, that he powders and wears laced coats, and sometimes he and Portmore sup with her. She is sister to my Lord Onslow.

"I must beg leave to make my compliments to my Lady Stair. I am much obliged to her for the hon-

our she does me by taking notice of me, and by giving me arguments to persuade me to the thing in the world I have the most mind to. But though I want no arguments to bring me to wait upon you, was it as much in my power as in my inclination, yet I am not the less sensible of Lady Stair's favour in giving such advice, which I should be extremely glad to follow. I am, and ever must be, my dear Lord," &c.

The Earl of Galloway to the Earl of Stair.*

"STRATTON, *Sept.* 30, 1718.

"Though I am sure 'tis needless to make any instances to dispose your Excellency to use your best endeavours for the releasement of the few Protestants which remain at this time on the gallies, since your zeal has appeared in that particular to the utmost by the great number that have been set at liberty by means of your unwearied application to that end; yet, as I know there are three of the ancient ones still detained, I have thought it would not be improper to mention it to your Excellency, and likewise desire you would put the Maréchal D'Etrée in mind of his promise that all the ancient ones should be set free, which has not been executed towards these. Wherefore I earnestly entreat your Excellency to continue your charitable endeavours in order to obtain for these the liberty which their fellow-sufferers have had by your Excellency's mediation in their behalf. I hope you will excuse this trouble, which I should not have given had I not been pressed to it by some of these poor people."†

* James, fifth Earl of Galloway.

† These "galeriens," as they were called, appear from their names,

Lord Burford to the Earl of Stair.

"WINDSOR, *Aug.* 3, O.S., 1718.

". . . The king's journey to Hampton Court, which was to have been Tuesday, is put off till that day se'ennight, but I don't find that 'tis altogether certain that it will be that day. He likes Kensington mightily, 'tis so much liker his gardens at Hanover than those at any other house. As for our friend Mr Coke, I can give your lordship but a very slight account, not having seen him. The vice-chamberlain told me that never any man was half so in love as he is. He had like to have had a very great loss; he has had a loss. The ship that his things came from Italy in took fire, and they saved his pictures, drawings, and statues, but his books are burnt; and his agent in England was the occasion of it, for he might have removed them the day before, but would not, to save three shillings. I hear he is to come to town for two or three days, and then go to Sir Edward Coke's, and then into Norfolk. 'Tis not fitting that I should trouble your lordship any more with this stuff, but before I conclude, must beg my most humble respects to my Lady Stair and to Miss Primrose. I shall do myself the honour to write to my Lady Stair in a few days. The Duke of St Albans begs his humble service to your lordship, and would have writ, but that I told him I was to write to your lordship, and therefore would not trouble you. . . ."

which are given on the back of this letter in another hand, to have been French Protestants.

The Duke of Montrose to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *Nov.* 19, 1718.

"I am to return you my thanks for your letter of the 18th, N.S., and for the honour you intended me of your proxy, which I should have been very proud to have had, since I flatter myself that there are not two folks likelier to agree in all matters relating to the king's service and the affairs of our own country; but I was full before it came, having both my Lord Rothes' and Lord Haddington's proxies. You may believe I was pleased to be confirmed by your lordship that I was in the right in giving my vote as I did. Sure there can be nothing plainer than that the surest way of avoiding the danger we apprehend—a war with Spain—was by coming into hearty resolutions of supporting the king at this juncture, when the eyes of all Europe were upon us, and I make no doubt but that what has been done will have the desired effect; for we have not only carried our point, but with such a majority as makes the victory much more considerable. The good effects of it are seen already in many respects, and I hope a little time will show us that the good effects of it will still be more remarkable on t'other side of the water. In all appearance everything must go swimmingly this session; and if the ministers will but labour the point a little, for my share I can't but think they have now the opportunity in their hands of mending an evident defect in the constitution, and doing us justice.* . . .

* This refers to Lord Stanhope's Peerage Bill, which was now about to be introduced.

As much as possible, consistent with the king's affairs, press that point, that you may have leave to come over for a little time. There are but very few of our Lords here this winter, which in truth has but an ill grace. I hope to have occasion soon of writing to you more fully upon this subject. My wife and I beg leave to offer our most humble service to my Lady Stair. Lord Graham is very proud that he is not forgot, and desires his compliments may be made. —My dear Lord, believe me to be always, with the greatest warmth and respect, yours." *

* Stair Papers, vol. xiii., A.

CHAPTER XIV.

Lord Stair's Entry as ambassador—His defence of his expenditure—The Master of Sinclair—Stair too partial to display and punctilio—Letters of Secretary Craggs to Stair—The Peerage Bill—Lord Cadogan—French Protestants—Parties in parliament—Offer of French seamen—War in Spain—Strike of the keelmen at Newcastle—Rising of the weavers—Calicoes—The Abbé Dubois' favour to British interests.

The declaration of war against Spain on the part of France and the manifesto which accompanied it gave entire satisfaction to England, particularly certain passages of the manifesto, in which the Regent frankly proclaimed how great a share King George's government had in laying the foundation of a lasting tranquillity in Europe.* The engrossing subject at Paris now was Lord Stair's formal Entry as ambassador, which was to take place in the first week of February; an expensive ceremonial at any time, and doubly so in the case of one so lofty in his ideas as the Earl of Stair. Coming on the back of his other and more necessary expenditure, the cost of the preparations for this piece of national and personal display, and the call for an additional grant to meet it, was the cause of very general complaint on the English side of the Channel.

* Mr Craggs to the Earl of Stair, Jan. 5, 1719—Stair Papers, vol. xix., B.

The Earl of Stair to Mr Secretary Craggs (private).

"PARIS, *Jan.* 14, 1719.*

". . . In the first place, I believe I need not many arguments to persuade you that in my daily expense I lay out what the king gives me in appointments. In the next place, I shall show you to a demonstration that I have laid out, and with economy—that I don't take to my praise—all the money the king was pleased to give me to make my equipage and entry. These things being true, as they are, I cannot have taken the king's money to squander away. It remains then, that if I have squandered, it must be my own money. As to that I answer, I shall make it very plain to you by my accounts, that since I have been in France I have bought in furniture, plate and jewels very considerably above ten thousand pounds. I shall show you that I have paid debts for very considerable sums, and that I have not touched one penny of my estate since I have been in France, which I think amounts to a proof that I have not flung away my own money at play,—unless I owe it. To that I answer that I owe no play-money; and £5000 will pay all the debts I owe in France. I have no accounts in France or anywhere else of a year's standing. So that if it had not been for the misfortune I had in meddling with Stocks, I should have been able to have paid my debts here, and to have made my entry without asking any assistance from the Government. . . . To finish this tedious apology

*Stair Papers, vol. iii., B.

for myself, for which I beg pardon, I give you my word that, for the satisfaction of my friends and for my own, I will entirely give over every sort of play. . . .

"I am heartily glad that the king's affairs go so well in England, and that you have so good an opportunity of doing, before the end of this session, whatever you think necessary for strengthening the king's interest and making his government easy to his people, and setting their minds at quiet. I am very glad that our poor friend York [Bolingbroke] is like to find his account in the public tranquillity. I'm glad the discords in the prince's family make the unnatural and unreasonable opposition that comes from that quarter less formidable. . . . Affairs go very well here at present, as we could wish. This court is as open and frank now as to the affairs of the north as they were dark and mysterious before. The death of the king of Sweden sets us at our ease, and the Regent now comes to consider himself as the person principally concerned in the war, the only person struck at and principally in danger. This court will now readily attach themselves to the king [George] and follow his views, that they may save their own credit and preserve an appearance of interest, from which they seemed desirous to exclude us some weeks ago. The Abbé and I are now the dearest friends in the world, and I am very willing we should be so; and we talk as if there never had happened any difference or dryness. . . .

"I am sorry you think there can be nothing done for George Hamilton. He says he wanted bread,

had no commission from the king, and had never taken the oaths to him; that being a man of a desperate fortune, he was misled by Lord Mar, who made him great promises. Now, Craggs, I must oppose mercy in another place, which I do not naturally incline to do; 'tis in the case of the Master of Sinclair,* a man of a very ill character. He killed two brothers of Sir John Shaw (who is married to my cousin-german) in one week; the second he shot behind his back before Captain Shaw drew his pistol, for which he was condemned for murder by a court-martial, in the time of the siege of Lille. The late queen, upon the case being represented to her, promised Sir John Shaw never to pardon Mr Sinclair; which nevertheless she afterwards did, after the change of the ministry, by Lord Mar's powerful intercession. The part this gentleman acted in the rebellion, as I have been told, was every way a very foul one. I am told he now makes application for his pardon, and that he has found the way to make friends. As to his pardon, in the first place, he does not deserve it; and in the next place, it will be a mortal injury to Sir John Shaw, who has been a very firm and faithful friend to the government at all times. . . ."

Lord Stair's Entry was (to use the expression of the Duc de St Simon) "superb."† The splendour

* Author of the Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair.

† February 5, 1719: "Stair fit une superbe entrée."—Mémoires. Major James Gardiner acted upon the occasion as Master of the Horse, and to him is ascribed by his reverend biographer the chief praise of the arrangements.—Doddridge's Life of Gardiner, p. 16. For an account of the carriages, trappings of the horses, liveries, &c., I must refer to Stair's anonymous biographer, London, 1747.

of the carriages, the horses with their gorgeous trappings, the liveries of the running footmen, presented a *tout ensemble* which exceeded everything of the kind previously witnessed in Paris. But a circumstance occurred which (like the slave in the Roman triumph) was calculated to check the pride of the ambassador, and remind him that the king of France was master at home. Stair's own carriage was drawn by eight horses, and when he proposed entering with it the court of the Thuilleries, to wait upon the king and the Regent, he was informed by the French master of ceremonies that only carriages with two horses could enter "la cour du roi." After some discussion, six of the horses were withdrawn, and the ambassador had nothing for it but to drive up to the door of the palace with a pair.

From an overstrained notion of maintaining the dignity of the Court he represented, Lord Stair was doomed to another mortification. During the days immediately following the entry he had, according to custom, to make visits to the princes of the blood, and receive visits from them in return. When the Prince de Conti arrived at the British Embassy to make his return visit, Stair did not receive him at the foot of the outer staircase, according to alleged usage, but remained at the top of the stairs. This was resented by the prince, who declined to make his visit under the circumstances of this reception. A warm dispute ensued, in which the whole French court took the prince's side. The Abbé Dubois well described it as one of those *bagatelles* more pernicious than serious matters, and more dangerous to the good intelligence which ought to exist

between the two nations. The ministers in England cut the affair short by desiring Stair to follow the ceremonial used by the Imperial ambassador :—

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

"WHITEHALL, *March* 24, 1719.

". . . His Majesty was in hopes that the directions you had received in my letter of the 9th inst. had put an end to this unhappy dispute; but since your Excellency thinks it necessary to have more positive orders than were contained in that despatch, I will first of all tell you what has determined his Majesty, and then give you his final instructions upon this subject. His Majesty has seen the letter which your Excellency mentions to have been written by Count Königsegge to M. Pentenriedter, wherein he tells him that his instructions from the Imperial court were to follow exactly the ceremonial which has been observed by the Pope's nuncio, who did receive the princes of the blood at their coach-door; that he (Count Königsegge) had thereupon declared himself to the Master of the Ceremonies ready to observe the rules he should lay down for him in all those matters; that, indeed, he did in the crowd not go himself so many steps down the *perron*, and receive the Princes of the blood at their coach-door, because, having so frankly declared his intention to do whatever was thought proper, he believes no notice was taken of the manner in which he executed it; but the master of ceremonies has put it down in his journals as if Count

Königsegge had done what is now demanded of your Excellency, to which he makes not the least objection, but, on the contrary, declares that had the same thing been demanded of him, he could not have pretended to refuse it. Though the king would not order your Excellency to follow the example of the Pope's nuncio, he has no difficulty in commanding you to do what the Imperial court had ordered the Emperor's ambassador to do in point of ceremonial."

The following extracts from letters of Secretary Craggs to Lord Stair touch upon some salient points in the course of public affairs this spring :—

"Cockpit, *March* 10, 1719.*

"You cannot imagine the hurry I have been in. There has been, since the two brothers [Argyle and Islay] came among us, a good deal of jealousy and distrust among our friends. My good Lord Cadogan, though he has made the utmost professions of friendship and deference to other folks' measures, has certainly blown the coals. He has a notion of being *premier ministre*, which, I believe, you will with me think a very Irish one; but however, having for the last two winters bustled about extremely among us, and having been suffered, under pretence of extraordinary zeal and diligence, to recommend several things out of his province, this has procured him a certain set of followers, among whom the discontent and grumbling of late has been most evident. It is also remarkable that since he arrived, the fury of our party has been heightened against any thing which

* Stair Papers, vol. xix., A.

might be attempted in favour of poor York [Bolingbroke]; and that, joined to the useless officiousness of some of his friends here, who would, forsooth, be getting friends in detail before the only people who could have credit with the party were ripe to speak to them, has made his business take such a turn that they threatened to send any man to the Tower who should attempt to procure any relief for his father's, Lord St John's, family, which will be ruined if he dies before Bolingbroke. . . . You will have heard with what a swing the Peerage Bill is like to be carried in the House of Lords, but I assure you it will periclitate in ours.* . . . You cannot imagine what a prejudice was raised in the minds of our party. The Germans, all but Bernsdorff and the Duchess of Munster, go about talking against it. They are extremely concerned for the king's prerogative, and, I fancy, do not despair some time or other to be peers. The young family [Prince of Wales's party] set all their weight against this bill. 'Tis a pretty figure they make, now we apprehend an invasion. You must know that, by what I meet hitherto, they and their vassals and creatures take the turn of despising this news and calling it a job of the ministry,

* Lord Stanhope's Peerage Bill was first brought in the 28th February 1718 in the House of Lords, but was dropped before the third reading. The part of it most debated was the provision applicable to Scotland, whereby instead of sixteen elective peers it was proposed that the king should name twenty-five Scottish peers as hereditary, and that this number, on the failure in any instance of heirs-male, should be supplied from the remaining peers of Scotland. Lord Stair and the Duke of Montrose, as well as many other Scottish peers, were in favour of the bill, which was again introduced in the session of 1719, and after passing the House of Lords was thrown out by the Commons.—Earl Stanhope's England, vol. i. chap. 10.

and say that if it is true we may thank the Quadruple Alliance. . . ."

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

"COCKPIT, *March* 31, 1719.

". . . Our Peerage Bill here has met with many mines, and we have countermined them as well as we can; but as I am far from answering for the success in the House of Commons, so am I not yet willing to despair, for I think matters are rather mended since I wrote you last. But we have really upon this and all occasions too many knaves and fools to deal with; besides, the young Court put their whole strength openly upon it, and for the first time do not, as I understand, spare money, which, I promise you, comes very hard from that quarter. . . .

"I'll tell you a story will make you laugh, in return to those in your private letter. Lords Sunderland and Stanhope and myself go into the [king's] closet together, and if one comes after the others are gone in, he follows without asking. Cadogan asked Sunderland two days ago if he had spoke to the king about the transports: says Sunderland, 'We shall immediately;' whereupon Cadogan, seeing the closet door open, said, 'Then I will go in with you;' and so bounced in with us. You may imagine we did not stay long; but as we came out he pretended to have forgot somewhat, which I who went out last heard him mention, of Egerton's regiment; and so staid behind half an hour, as if there was some secret only for his own use. He swears and damns himself that

he has done his best for this bill [the Peerage Bill], but too many circumstances attest the contrary." *

The Same to the Same.

"WHITEHALL, *April* 11, 1719.

"His Majesty having had many accounts of the disturbances which the Protestants in France often take occasion to create, and thereby disquiet his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans' administration, who, notwithstanding the favourable disposition he may have towards them, yet is rendered unable to show them any indulgence by their unseasonable and tumultuous proceedings, and these perhaps fomented by declared enemies to his Majesty as well as the regent, —has commanded me to signify to your Excellency that you would assure his Royal Highness, in the most engaging terms, of his Majesty's great desire to contribute what he can for the ease and tranquillity of his Royal Highness's government in this and all other occasions. Wherefore the king, believing his credit among a set of people that are Protestants might be of some weight, has judged it for the Regent's service to send to them a person in his name to let them know how much he thinks it for their interest as well as their duty to behave themselves with decency and quietness. The bearer hereof, colonel de la Bouchetière, is the person appointed by the king for that purpose, and his Majesty would have you recommend him in the best manner to his Royal Highness, so that he may receive all fitting countenance and protection."

* A more suitable field than at home was soon after this found for Lord Cadogan's energy by his being appointed ambassador at the Hague.

"Cockpit, *May* 27, 1719.

"My Lord Sunderland and I agree with you perfectly in all your notions how right it would be to pardon Mar,* and the many good consequences that would arise; but after what happened last session about poor York [Bolingbroke], who has behaved himself not only very well but usefully too during a good space of time, I would take a great deal of care, both as a man of honour and a man of sense, how I engaged in any such new negotiation. It is a ridiculous circumstance to see a party mad, if you take the best methods to serve them; but, be it as it will, it is the party which must support the king's affairs; and as there is a subdivision in it, the most rancorous ready to join with the devil, and the most industrious to lay hold of every pretence to do mischief, those who carry on the king's service are frequently obliged to give way to their unreasonable humours. If none appear amongst us next session, we shall certainly be stronger than ever; but our madmen, blown up by our knaves, would, I am afraid, bounce like bottled ale at a negotiation with Mar. . . . If we could finish these cursed northern affairs, we should meet the parliament in good humour, and *tirer bon marché de l'Espagne.* If the Cardinal [Alberoni] does not invade us, you will see everything very quiet during the king's absence. The prince went the other day to visit his children, as the king has permitted him during his absence. My Lady Portland† made him

* Lord Stair's correspondence with Lord Mar and letters to Mr Craggs in reference to it, are printed in the Hardwicke State Papers, ii. 564 *et seq.* Stair and his friend of former years assumed in their correspondence the names, respectively, of Captain Brown and John Murray.

† The Countess of Portland was in charge of the royal children.

the lowest curtsey that was ever performed, but he returned it by such a courageous strut towards her as you have seen a hero make in a tragedy. She says she was not frighted, but upon my word I am. It is strange, but it is very true, that any misfortune of the Spaniards or the Muscovites, any success of the king's or the Regent, is not more heavy news to the Jacobites than to [the Prince of Wales] and our old friends. Pulteney is as deep now as Walpole; their hearts were pretty well broke, till the business of the Peerage Bill revived their hopes; but I flatter myself we shall bang them very heartily next session. I send you a ballad they have made upon our regency; the authors were the two Walpoles, Pulteney, Edgecombe, and Gay. Observe how they play off the son against his father, and how angry they are. I hope to send you an answer that shall be somewhat merrier. The king's birthday is celebrated to-morrow at Kensington by the young princesses. . . . Dunch [?] has left off play just before it was quite too late; he has got a fever and lost a good estate; don't take notice of this, for 'tis not public. . . . The Duke of Kingston [Lord Mar's father-in-law] does not own, that I hear of, any letter yet from Mar. You may be sure no one takes notice to him."

The Duke of Orleans had offered to the British Government the loan of 500 or 600 seamen to man the ships engaged in the war against Spain. They came, but were not wanted, Mr Craggs thus apprising Lord Stair: "I am sorry the French seamen are arrived in our ports; for besides that they are of no use at present, our ships being already provided with

as many as they had occasion for of our own, your Excellency very well knows our navy pride themselves in doing their own service, without any obligation to foreign helps. His Majesty has therefore thought it proper to send them home again as soon as conveniently may be, with a month's pay in their pockets as a gratuity for the offer they have made to serve him." *

The war meanwhile was prosecuted by the French under Marshal the Duke of Berwick by land, with more vigour than by the English fleet at sea. The Marshal carried his arms into the north of Spain, and took several important places, as Passage, Fontarabia, and (contrary to expectation) St Sebastian; while the fleet confined itself to demonstrations along the north coast of the Peninsula.

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

"WHITEHALL, *June* 15, 1719.†

". . . . The good news of taking Fontarabia and Castel-Leon, should it be followed by a victory, would entirely dissipate all the Abbé Dubois' fears of an invasion in France or a descent in Brittany. The loss of a battle would indeed very much increase them, but I own myself sanguine enough to have very little apprehension in case the Marshal Berwick shall give one. In all events, you may assure the

* April 1719—Stair Papers. By a note of April 3, 1719, Mr Craggs signified his Majesty's pleasure to the Lords of the Treasury that a sum of £5000 be paid to the order of the Earl of Stair, "on account of his extraordinary expenses and services."

† Stair Papers, vol. xix., A.

Abbé that what strength we can put out to sea shall be as much employed for the service of their coast, and as watchful to protect it, as our own. . . . I do not find that my Lord Berkeley [Admiral] is very apprehensive of any accident likely to happen to the three ships commanded by Captain Johnson; but he expresses a great deal of uneasiness, if our men-of-war should meet with the three little French frigates, about the salutes. Your Excellency knows with how much vigour the navy of Great Britain has in all times insisted upon the first salute in these seas. I do not very well know what instructions to give you upon this head; but I recommend it to you very earnestly that, if you cannot obtain of them to salute our men-of-war (under pretence, for example, that our commander has the greatest command), you would at least procure some orders to avoid meeting them; for it is to be feared some ugly accident may happen, because this is a point in which we never did nor ever can give way.

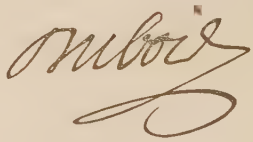
"Before I finish, I cannot help taking notice of two things which, though they are very trivial in themselves, may, for ought I know, carry an air of consequence abroad: (1.) The rising of the keelmen at Newcastle and Sunderland to have their wages increased; these men have been particularly remarkable for their affection to the Government, and offered, in the late rebellion, or upon any other emergency, to furnish three thousand able-bodied men, if the Government would give them arms. I understand they flattered themselves that upon this merit the Lords Justices would connive at their riotous proceedings; but they have been mistaken, and are all

very quiet. (2.) The rising of the weavers, who, starving for want of work and attributing the decay of their trade to the vast number of printed calicoes which are worn by the lowest rank of women, assembled the other day, to the number of four or five hundred, and *docked* all the servant-maids, not sparing gentlemen whom they met in the streets dressed in calicoes. By the measures which have been taken, I believe we shall hear no more of them; but what I chiefly meant by this account was to put your Excellency in a condition to answer the magnified relations that might probably be made and ignorantly accepted by other people, since I do not find by the best inquiry that there has been the least disaffection at the bottom of these tumults. We are but too apt to be frighted and see the worst side of things here in England; but you will observe that our credit and stocks rise every day." *

In the political correspondence at this time, additional evidence appears of the fidelity of the Abbé Dubois to the English alliance and to the interests of his master as in connection with it—a fidelity which Lord Stair is not always inclined to recognise. Representations having been made from London as to certain attempts made by the French to occupy the island of St Lucia, which had been ceded to Great Britain, and also as to encroachments made by them on the British settlements in North America, Dubois, in a French despatch on this subject to the ambassador, presses upon him the method to be followed in all

* Additional letters of this year, from Mr Secretary Craggs to Lord Stair, are printed in the Appendix.

differences arising between the two countries, which is—"To treat those differences *de bonne foi et à l'aimable.* The treaties ceding the lands in question prescribe the mode of terminating disputes by naming commissioners to regulate them. I beseech you to choose commissioners; I am desired to request this of you. His Royal Highness wishes it, not so much on account of the utility it may be of to France, as for the sake of showing to all Europe that the good correspondence and friendship between the king of Great Britain and himself is not confined to their personal interests, but extends also to the subjects of the two realms, and that they are desirous of deciding all their disputes by the way of justice and reason, and not by fraud or violence. I know well those are your principles; I profess the same on my part." *

(*Signed* 

On the subject of the Abbé and his master, Stair writes to Mr Craggs in July: "Our poor friend, the Abbé, is by turns all fire and all ice—one day open and frank, the next day dark and mysterious. Sometimes he thinks I have too much power with the Regent, and endeavours to break off my seeing him in private; and at other times he desires I should

* Abbé Dubois to the Earl of Stair, May 5, 1719—Stair Papers, vol. xxii. There is nothing in the Stair Papers that I have seen to cause a doubt as to the genuineness of Dubois' attachment to the English alliance and to Lord Stanhope, notwithstanding the Regent's observation to him on one occasion—"L'Abbé, un peu de droiture, s'il vous plait."

have credit, and desires the Regent should hear and listen to me. I wish from my heart he had the Cardinal's hat upon his head; but I am afraid his master's temper is such that he will never be brought to agree to it. He thinks the Abbé would be too independent and make too great a figure, if he had that hat upon his head. The same temper makes that he will never declare for any party, nor trust himself entirely to any number of persons." *

* Hardwicke State Papers, ii. 580. Dubois was soon after this made Archbishop of Cambray—his request for that dignity coming rather as a surprise upon the Regent, who doubted, with some reason, if any respectable ecclesiastic would give him (in the first place) priest's orders. Two years later he was made Cardinal, the king of Great Britain using what influence he had with the Pope in Dubois' favour.

CHAPTER XV.

Cardinal Alberoni foments insurrections in the countries opposed to him —Expedition to Scotland in aid of the Jacobites—Stormy weather —Two Spanish frigates, sailing by Ireland, make the coast of Ross-shire—Letters to Lord Stair concerning the expedition—Partial rising of the Highlanders—Battle of Glenshiel—The Earl of Peterborough's intrigue with the Queen of Spain's uncle upsets Alberoni—Letters of Secretary Craggs to Lord Stair—Lord Stanhope's visit to Paris—Its twofold object—Letters of Voltaire, Lord Finch, and the Duchess of Marlborough.

Cardinal Alberoni's policy, in the prosecution of his warlike designs against the nations whom he had arrayed in arms against Spain, was to take advantage of their internal divisions and foment within each country domestic insurrections. His attempts in France had been baffled by the timely discovery at Paris of the plot against the Regent, and the arrests of the Spanish ambassador and the Duke and Duchess of Mayne. As regarded Britain, the Jacobites were ready to his hand, unconscious tools in the execution of his plans; and during the winter he had been preparing at Cadiz a formidable expedition by way of a diversion, in which they were intended to play a principal part.

From the Chevalier himself, who was invited into Spain from Italy, to his humblest agent, the whole

Jacobite party were put upon the move. The Pretender arrived at Madrid in March, where he was received with royal state and great demonstrations of affection by Philip and his queen. The Cardinal accompanied him to Valladolid, whence he proceeded to Corunna in order to be ready to embark, accompanied by the Duke of Leria, if the outset of the expedition answered expectations.* The armament sailing from Cadiz included several English frigates and transport vessels pressed into the service, and had on board about 4000 foot and 1000 cavalry. The Duke of Ormond was to command the expedition as Captain-General of the King of Spain.

Intelligence of this armament having been conveyed to Paris, it was formally notified by Dubois to Lord Stanhope in time to admit of all preparations being made that were possible, while its exact destination was yet unknown. Stanhope acknowledged, through Lord Stair, the friendly attention and vigilance of the Regent and Dubois, and himself wrote to the Abbé that the king had instructed the admirals of his fleet to guard the French coasts with equal diligence as their own;—"Whatever side the Spaniards may turn to, I hope that, with the aid of God, we shall, with sufficient ease, parry their blow; but unless we wish to continue exposed to their insults, we must push the Cardinal Alberoni at home, so as to prevent him carrying his schemes abroad." †

The ships set forth from Cadiz early in March, to

* Henry Wortley (Portuguese ambassador) to Secretary Craggs—Stair Papers, vol. xxii.

† Earl Stanhope to the Abbé Dubois, March 30, 1719 (printed in Appendix).

be joined by others at Corunna; but the stars in their courses fought against Sisera, and a violent storm dispersed and disabled the armament before it had left the Spanish coast. Admiral Lord Berkeley had meanwhile been upon the watch for them with a fleet of nine ships of war, and wrote as follows to Stair: *—

"Aboard the Dorsetshire, 10 leagues from the Lizard, *April* 10, 1719.

"I have been this fortnight looking out for the enemy. When I first came I went off Cape Clear in Ireland, thinking that might be a place they were to rendezvous at, but saw nor heard nothing of them. Since I'm come back, we have resolved to keep on our own shore as much as we can, that intelligence may come quicker to us, and that our cruisers may be sure where to find us, if they should get sight of the enemy. This we think better than running the risk of letting them slip by us in the sea; for if they should do so, we might not have an account of them in a great while, and in the station we are in between the Lizard and Scilly, if our cruisers should bring us an account of them, we should be able to go into either channel, and not be long after them. My orders are likewise to take care they don't land on the coast of France. I do myself the honour to send your lordship this by an officer, who is to return immediately again to me, to know if your lordship has any intelligence of them that may be depended upon, for all that we have is ship news, which is not generally reckoned the best; but such as it is I send it

* Stair Papers, vol. xxii.

enclosed to your lordship. I believe that part of their being sailed is certainly true, but if with so little provisions as they say, they must certainly be perished in the sea. Indeed, I am very apt to believe their expedition is over, and that we shall have a very dismal account of them whenever we hear of them, for they can have met with nothing but contrary winds and very bad weather. I have sent a 50- and a 20-gun ship to look into the Groyne. If they bring me any intelligence that is worth your knowing, I will do myself the honour of writing again to your lordship. If I can, whilst here or in England, be of any service to your lordship, I shall be proud of your commands.

"If your lordship thinks it proper to make my compliments to the Regent, I am sure you will be able to do so in a better manner than I can be able any other way."

Notwithstanding the precautions of Admiral Berkeley, whose chief anxiety probably was to guard the mouth of the Channel, two frigates of the Spanish fleet passed him, holding out to sea, and steering by the west and north of Ireland to the west coast of Scotland. In a report by a custom-house officer of the county Mayo, sent to Lord Stair by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, there is a notice of these adventurous frigates and their tender or spy-boat; the Duke of Ormond, Lords Tullybardine, Marischal, and Seaforth, with 300 Spanish soldiers and arms being on board of them :—

"Blacksod, County Mayo, *March* 21, 1719.

"On the 20th of last month there arrived in the

harbour of Broadhaven a small ship of about 30 tons, and their being no boat in this harbour, nor at Blacksod nor Curragh, I sent a supernumerary on one side and went myself on the other, the harbour being about 600 yards across, and six miles from its entrance to the head. We hailed the ship by turns from that time every day to the 16th March, and searched the shores, but they would not come to us on either side; they commonly kept their boat in their ship on deck, and once a-week came ashore in places where the sea intercepted between them and either of us, and before we could get round they went off. They reported they were laden with butter, beef, tallow, salt, hides, for Bordeaux; they commonly answered they would not come for us, and bade us call the king's boat. We told them there was none; they bade us chuse and be damned. They reported that they had sunk a boat-load of people in Scotland that attempted to board them; they had six petteroes and several small arms. They reported they waited for an east wind, but they did not move till two large ships appeared the 17th of this inst., then they went out to them far out in the sea, and after some long time she left them and sailed westward, and the two large ships sailed off and on till towards night. Then she went to sea the 18th; the two ships did the same on the 19th, but never came nearer than a league to the old Head of Erris, so that I could not make what they were till the 20th, which was yesterday; then they came to the harbour mouth of Broadhaven, and might have come in if they pleased, but did not,—only turned off and on for three hours, then went clear off to sea. They are two French or Spanish men-of-war; they are

just as big as English six-rates; they carry above 30 guns apiece. I do believe they are some enemy, and that little ship belonged to them. This little ship reports she was at Baltimore, Crookhaven, Bearhaven, and in the bay of Galway. I believe she is a spy-boat. . . ."

The two Spanish ships we thus have a glimpse of in the course of their voyage, made for the west coast of Scotland, where the Duke of Ormond and his small band effected a landing near Loch-Alsh, in Ross-shire. After a few weeks' delay they were joined by a desultory body of Highlanders; and the united force of Spaniards and Highlanders under the leading of Ormond, marching inland, entrenched themselves in a strong position among the passes at the top of Glenshiel. Here they were attacked by the king's troops under General Wightman. After some hot firing, and a contest which lasted two hours, the Highlanders maintaining their ground better than the Spanish soldiers, the dragoons of the royal detachment broke in upon and routed the invading force.* General Wightman wrote the day after the fight to Mr Secretary Craggs:—

"GLENSHIELL, *June* 11, 1719.

"SIR,—I beg leave to congratulate you on the success of his Majesty's troops under my command. The rebels' camp being fortified by art as well as nature at the Brae of Glenshiell, I attacked them

* Letter of Colonel Edward Montague (who had his intelligence from an eyewitness) to the Lord Provost of Perth, June 11, 1719—Stair Papers, vol. xxiii.

yesterday at 5 o'clock at night, and by 8 beat them out. I refer you to his Grace of Roxburgh's letter for particulars, to whom I write by this express. There is a vacancy in Colonel Montague's regiment, by the death of Captain Downs; therefore I beg leave to recommend to your favour Captain Abercrombie, who is a half-pay officer on the English establishment, he coming a volunteer into that day's service, and was very ill wounded in the head charging with that regiment." *

In a letter from Sir David Dalrymple to Lord Stair in July, there is mentioned a particular of this contest (in which the Jacobite force made a sturdier fight than some modern writers allege), not noticed elsewhere :—" The granades thrown from the cannons among the enemy did not only surprise the Highlanders and gaul them, but fired the long heather where they were lying, and was among the first things brought them in disorder."

Thus ended the Jacobite invasion of 1719, and with it all Cardinal Alberoni's hopes of a diversion in the direction of Scotland. The remnant of the Spaniards surrendered at discretion, and the Highlanders escaped among the mountains, while Ormond and his friends returned in disguise to Spain.†

The Cardinal was now losing ground in every quarter. His schemes in France and in Britain had failed him; the Duke of Berwick was advancing

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiii.

† In collections of Highland arms are often to be seen long guns of Spanish make and ornamentation, and Andrea Ferrara swords, some of which are probably arms of this expedition which the Highlanders appropriated on the dispersion of their Spanish allies.

slowly but surely in the north of Spain, and the Germans in Sicily, though defeated by the Spaniards at Villafranca, had recovered themselves, and were laying close siege to Messina. While all these things were against him, his popularity with the court and people of Spain was ebbing fast, and it is not surprising that he at last turned his thoughts to peace. He sent in August his countryman, the Marquis Scotti, the Duke of Parma's minister at Madrid, to Paris, for the purpose of sounding the Duke of Orleans; but the Regent was firmly resolved to make no peace with Spain without having Alberoni sent away in the first place.* The same view was taken by Lord Stanhope and the British government, to whom the Regent communicated the overtures made by the Parmesan minister.

It was reserved for the Earl of Peterborough, by a volunteer feat of diplomacy, to be the instrument of bringing about the fall of this bold ecclesiastic who had so long disturbed the peace of Europe. Engaging in a private correspondence with the Duke of Parma, whose influence with his niece and heiress, Elizabeth Farnese, queen of Spain, was very considerable, Peterborough was successful in persuading that prince to take measures for withdrawing the court of Spain from the pernicious influence of Alberoni.

When this intrigue, if it may be so called, the object in view being so beneficial, had made considerable progress, Lord Peterborough addressed the following letter to the Regent, who was aware what irons were in the fire, and had signified his warm approval :—

* Stair to Craggs, August 20, 1719—Hardwicke Papers.

"Novi, *November* 20, 1719.*

"Your Royal Highness has permitted me on particular occasions to testify to you my desire for that solid union between the most Catholic king and the Duke of Orleans, by which you could be entirely assured of what the treaties have established in favour of your Royal Highness in the event of the death of the king of France. This is also what the Duke of Parma wishes, and has always wished, with the most extreme ardour. . . .

"The Abbé Dubois, as it seemed to me, in the last conversation I had with him, approved of what I proposed to your Royal Highness on the part of the Duke of Parma. I have also persuaded Lords Sunderland and Stanhope that this turbulent minister would never be brought under except by necessity, and that it was requisite to attack him with a vigour equal to his obstinacy. The Duke of Parma, animated by the same sentiments, is of opinion that it will be the most Catholic king who will find himself most relieved by being delivered from this insolent and jealous minister; and the Duke requests me to assure your Royal Highness that, as on all occasions it will be his pleasure to obey your orders, so on the present occasion he desires no better than to use his utmost efforts to drive the Cardinal out of Spain. The fault and inborn habit of the Italian princes is to have a great deal of negotiation without coming to a practical issue; but the Duke of Parma sees at present the necessity of acting with vigour, and with

* The original is in French. An English letter of the same date was addressed by Peterborough to Lord Stanhope, which is printed in the Appendix to the first volume of Earl Stanhope's History of England.

that view he is of opinion that your Royal Highness should send him by the secretary of state a letter he can show, in which it may be declared that seeing the Cardinal has made so ill a use of the confidence of his master in prolonging a war, in the course of which Christian blood has been so uselessly shed, the courts of France and England will take the resolution not to enter into any negotiation of peace until the Cardinal shall be driven from the ministry.

"Supported by such a letter, and assured of your Royal Highness's protection, the Duke is determined to try all measures, and he has no doubt that Spain will rise against this minister, should he not himself take the part of retiring. He will make the most earnest representations to their Catholic Majesties, even in presence of the Cardinal, should he continue in his usual habit of allowing no one to approach the king and the queen unless he be with them.

"I send this letter to your Royal Highness by a courier of the Duke of Parma, who can safely bring back to me your views, which could be conveyed to me by the Abbé Dubois, and whatever instruction you may be pleased to give to his serene Highness. I ask your Royal Highness's pardon for putting you to the inconvenience of so long a letter in a language in which I do not express myself as I could wish; and I beg you to believe that I am," &c.

The letter or declaration requested from the Duke of Orleans was granted without much delay; and the proceedings initiated by Lord Peterborough were followed by the desired effect. Early in the ensuing

month of December, Alberoni was dismissed from office and ordered to quit the Spanish territory.

So potent an obstacle in the way of peace being removed, it was resolved in England, as will appear from the following letters of Secretary Craggs, that Lord Stanhope should visit Paris with the twofold object of endeavouring to arrange a peace with Spain, and of taking some action in regard to the unsatisfactory condition of matters which had sprung up between Lord Stair and Mr Law, now in the zenith of his influence in France :—

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

"COCKPIT, *December* 18, 1719.

"I have kept your servant La Croix here, for the sake of writing this private letter. As I have not many opportunities during a session of parliament, when I lead the life of a cart-horse, I will make a full use of this. You have long since heard the success of the Peerage bill, by which one example you may see that 'tis not enough in this country to hit upon the rightest measures without there be a strength to carry them. And a man who has been a month out of town is as good a judge of this latter as I am of spectacles. . . . Cardinal Alberoni's disgrace opens a new scene, and to be sure, whoever gains the Queen of Spain will be master of that court. . . . You desire me to write to you what has passed with Law. As I have no instructions from the king on that head, I certainly can give you none; but if your lordship asks my opinion, I could really wish that after having so often told us we must henceforward

look upon him as *first minister*,* you had not openly attacked him without the king's orders about it. A few months will show us whether we are to have peace or war, and till we know by that means what we may depend upon, I don't see any reason to take new measures. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

"WHITEHALL, *December* 22, 1719.

"I have received your Excellency's letters by your servant Lyon of the 27th, N.S., and having laid them before the king, his Majesty has ordered me to tell you that he sends you by this occasion no particular instructions upon them, because he hath resolved to despatch the Earl Stanhope to-morrow morning for Paris, fully instructed upon the several points contained in your despatches. As he will probably arrive two days after your Excellency shall have received this letter, you will be pleased to prepare his Royal Highness the Regent for this visit by telling him the true occasion of it, which is, that his Majesty, being sensible of the great advantages which have accrued to both nations from their strict alliances and the religious observation of them, and the personal friendship betwixt him and the Regent, which

* In a letter to Craggs of September 1, 1719, Lord Stair had written —"You must henceforth look upon Law as the first minister, whose daily discourse is that he will raise France to a greater height than ever she was upon the ruin of England and Holland."—Hardwicke State Papers, ii. 589. Lord Stair's letters to Secretary Craggs in the Hardwicke collection I have not thought it incumbent on me to reprint at length, although they are occasionally referred to as in connection with letters received by Stair from Mr Craggs among the Stair Papers.

have put their affairs in so good a posture and lastly occasioned the disgrace of Cardinal Alberoni, that disturber of the public peace;—it is highly probable the court of Spain will be making propositions for a general peace. And as it has frequently happened, and may again so fall out, that the best allies may differ about the terms and conditions of a peace to be treated with the common enemy, his Majesty, to prevent the most distant chance of any such accident, which might diminish the good correspondence between the two nations and the intimate friendship betwixt him and the Regent, has sent over my Lord Stanhope without any character or other distinction than his Majesty's particular esteem and favour towards his lordship, and his lordship's duty, affection and merit towards his Majesty and his Royal Highness give him,* to settle and adjust during eight or ten days that he will remain in France, in concert with your Excellency, and by your advice and instructions, such terms, articles and particulars of a peace to be accepted, if Spain shall offer one, as may not leave our enemies the least hopes of seeing that union impaired which has hitherto had such great success. Your Excellency will also be pleased to inform the Emperor's minister of this resolution of his Majesty, and tell him in general, by the Regent's consent, the intention of Lord Stanhope's short journey, that he may take no umbrage, as if it contained some mystery wherewith his court was not to be acquainted. I will not finish this letter without acquainting your

* In a subsequent despatch, however, of December 24, 1719, Mr Craggs encloses a letter of credence for Lord Stanhope, which "he believes it would not be decent for his lordship to be without."

Excellency that, in relation to our domestic affairs, we have met some difficulty in parliament, but that in relation to his Majesty's supplies, alliances and treaties, there has been the utmost unanimity; all his Majesty's friends may depend upon it that there will be more than usual vigour in supplying them this session." *

"Cockpit, *December* 22, 1719.

". . . My public letter will satisfy your lordship about the pretence of Lord Stanhope's journey, which you will immediately communicate to the Regent and the Abbé; but the true reason is, that as your lordship could not be spared to come home at such a nice conjuncture, the king and his servants have thought it proper a man of his weight and abilities should go over to talk with you, and be particularly informed of all circumstances. . . . He will drive straight to your house, where he will expect a bed. He has not only the strongest orders, but designs of himself, both for the common good and private respect, to follow your instructions in the conduct he shall observe to all these persons [viz., the Regent, Dubois and Law] and report to you every syllable that shall pass in private conferences between him and them, as you will be pleased to do the same towards his lordship, that, upon comparing notes and circumstances, you may frame the better judgment, and see, if by talking different languages to each of you separately, they design to deceive you. Your letter came yesterday morning; the resolution was taken at noon, and will be put in execution to-

* Stair Papers, vol. xxix., B.

morrow. You will have an occasion to run over fully with Lord Stanhope all that you have ever thought about Lord Mar, York, the debts, and our domestic affairs. You know that, in his situation, it is impossible to stir in any of them without him, and since you are going to be locked up together, it would be superfluous for me to moot upon them in a letter. I heartily wish you good holidays, and a happy new year, and am, with the greatest truth and affection," &c.

It is evident, from these letters of Mr Craggs, that he was a sincere well-wisher to Lord Stair. It may be doubted whether, notwithstanding his seat in the cabinet, he was honoured with the entire confidence of the king and Stanhope. He knew nothing of the secret history of the Peterborough negotiation with the court of Spain till it was concluded; and being himself known to be Lord Stair's personal friend, he was probably not made aware of the resolution about this time taken by Lord Stanhope (supposing Dubois to be of the same opinion, of which there was little doubt) to advise the recall of Stair, on the ground of his unpleasant relations with Mr Law.*

Amongst the miscellaneous letters addressed to Lord Stair in the course of this year, the following may be given here :—

M. Arouet de Voltaire to the Earl of Stair.

"Au Chateau de Sully, *Juin* 20, 1719.†

"Milord,—Je ne puis résister à l'envie de vous

* Earl Stanhope to the Abbé Dubois, Dec. 18, 1719 (printed in Appendix).

† Stair Papers, vol. xxiii.

envoyer de mauvais vers sur le *biribi*. Ce n'est pas que je fasse grand cas de ce jeu ni de ma poësie, mais c'est toujours une occasion de vous faire ma cour et de vous remercier de toutes vos bontés et de celles du roi, que je ne dois qu'à vous. Je vous suplie, Milord, d'ajouter à toutes vos graces celle d'envoyer chez mon père cette belle montre que vous m'avez fait voir. Il sera charmé qu'on s'addresse à lui et que les présens que le roi d'Angleterre daigne me faire passent par ses mains. Il demeure dans la cour du palais [de Justice] à la Chambre des Comptes.*

"Je viens de recevoir une lettre de Londres dans laquelle on me propose de me liguer avec les Anglois pour bannir la rime de la poësie françoise. Je n'ai point voulu entamer une négociation si difficile sans en parler à votre Excellence. Je ne tiens pas la chose practicable à moins que vous ne vous en mêliez. Vous avez sû si bien accorder l'esprit de ces deux peuples qu'il y a grand apparence que vous pourriez accorder aussi les poëtes des deux nations. Vous devez, Milord, montrer les vers du *biribi* † à Madame

* Voltaire's father, Francois Arouet, was a notary belonging to the old court of the Châtelet at Paris.

† I have not discovered among the 'Poësies Mêlées' or *vers de société* of Voltaire any verses upon the "Biribi," a game of hazard (described in the Appendix) at that time fashionable at Paris. It is mentioned as a favourite pursuit of the accomplished and versatile Madame du Châtelet, in the following poetical New-Year's gift addressed to that lady by her friend and admirer Voltaire :—

"Etrennes a Madame du Châtelet.

(Au nom de Madame de Boufflers.)

Une étrenne frivole à la docte Uranie !
Peut-on la présenter? Oh, très bien, j'en réponds.
Tout lui plait, tout convient à son vaste génie ;
Les livres, les bijoux, les compos, les pompons,

de Raimond; ils auroient du être faits pour elle.—Je suis, avec beaucoup de respect, Milord, de votre Excellence le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

"Arouet de Voltaire." *

Lord Finch to the Earl of Stair.

"Burley, *July* 1, 1719.

"My Lord,—I did desire my friend Gardiner to make my compliments to your lordship, and to desire you would use your interest with Lord Huntingdon, and engage him to be for Lord William Manners, the Duke of Rutland's second son, who stands now for the county of Leicester, upon the death of

Les vers, les diamants, le *biribi*, l'optique,
L'algèbre, les soupers, le latin, les jupons,
L'opéra, les procès, le bal, et la physique."
—Voltaire, *Poësies Mêlées.*

* *Translation.*

"My Lord,—I cannot resist the desire I have of sending you some bad verses on the *biribi*. Not that I make much account of this game or of my poetry, but it is at any rate an occasion of making my court to you, and thanking you for all your kindnesses, and for those of the king, for which I am indebted to you. I entreat you, my Lord, to add to your other favours that of sending to my father the beautiful watch you showed me. He will be charmed to be addressed in this way, and to have the presents which the king of England deigns to make to me pass through his hands. He resides in the court of the *Palais*, at the Chamber of Accounts.

"I have just received a letter from London, in which they propose to join me in league with the English for banishing rhyme from the French poetry. I did not wish to enter upon so difficult a negotiation without talking of it to your Excellency. I do not hold the thing practicable, unless you concern yourself in it. You have so well brought in accord the spirit of these two nations, that there is a great appearance of your being able also to make their poetry accord. You ought, my Lord, to show the verses of the *biribi* to Madame de Raimond; they should have been made for her.—I am, with much respect, my lord, your Excellency's very humble and obedient servant,

"Arouet de Voltaire.

"At the Château de Sully, 20*th June* 1719."

one Sir Thomas Cave, in opposition to one Mr Monday, a very great Tory, to say no worse of him. But lest my friend Gardiner, like other great men, should have a bad memory, I take the liberty to trouble you with this request, hoping it will not be disagreeable to you, since I know you have a friendship for the Duke; and my Lord Huntingdon's interest being of some consequence, the obtaining it will very much oblige my Lord Duke as well as myself, who am proud and happy in no circumstance of my life so much as in that of being sincerely your faithful servant. What makes me the more earnest in this affair, besides the general desire I have to serve the Duke of Rutland, is that I believe I was very instrumental in persuading my Lord Duke to let his son stand; and it would be an unthankful office in me to put him upon the attempt, and not do my best to support him in it. Your lordship must give me leave to inform you how the case stands in the county, by which your lordship will be able to find proper reasons to induce Lord Huntingdon to be for us. The gentlemen of the county in general, both Whig and Tory, last year agreed to make a compliment to my Lord Duke of choosing his son whenever a vacancy should happen. And I have myself had it from the mouths of several who now oppose him,—many came over to Belovir to make the offer and promise of their interest, who never had been there in many years before. Since that time, by the death of Mr Noel, Lord Granby is chosen in our county, and now many of them fly off from their engagements to my Lord Duke, and would make a difference between one son and the other, though the

compliment being made to the Duke of Rutland, I can't see that there is any distinction, but that they are in honour obliged to choose without opposition one of his sons. What relates particularly to my Lord Huntingdon, and what I wish, by your interest in him, that you would persuade him to set right, is this: the Duke has applied to some of his relations or trustees, those who have the management of his affairs, and they promised and have given him his lordship's interest. But there is a steward or bailiff who, by what I can find, has more inclination to serve Mr Monday, and therefore I am afraid acts contrary to orders, and against the interest of those he serves, which is no uncommon circumstance in all sorts of life. Now if my Lord Huntingdon will be pleased to engage heartily for Lord William, I should think it would not be amiss if he not only writ his positive orders to this agent, but would likewise give some authority to some of Lord William's friends to assure his dependents that he desires they will be for Lord William. . . . Besides, the having them both in parliament may tempt their father and family to town. And it is a shame, I must own it, that a parcel of fine young girls should be kept, as they were last winter, in the country. I feel those things so much that, in truth, when I was in the Treasury, I voted for old Portman in his election, because I thought it infamous that Mrs Portman should be buried alive. These being all reasons that will have weight with your lordship as well as myself, I need say no more to you upon this subject. I must beg that you will give me leave to trouble you upon another small affair still. It is for the service of women, or otherwise I would

not be troublesome. I must beg you will choose me two heads (sets) ruffles, &c.,—whatever makes two complete suits of ground-point. There are two young women have given me this commission, and you know whatever they wish it is impossible for me to refuse,—undertaking that your lordship will let my Lady Stair's woman or any other knowing person get them for me, and let me know by Mr Arbuthnot* or any of your people what they come to. I shall pay it to who they order, and you will, my dear Lord, very much oblige, &c., FINCH.

"I hope my Lady Stair and Miss Primrose are both well, and that your lordship will make my compliments to them. I wish nothing so much as to be able to do it myself by coming to wait upon you at Paris, but it won't do."

The Duke of Montrose to the Earl of Stair.

"HANOVER, *September* 11, 1719.

"Allow me to have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the good news we received last night from Stockholm, and upon the agreeable prospect we have of the success of affairs upon every side. How much is the scene changed to the better in a little time! In all human appearance, no accident can now happen to bring us bad news, and I think we have a fair hit for some things happening that will raise the king's reputation abroad to as high a pitch as his most

* Mr Robert Arbuthnot and Major Skeene managed Lord Stair's matters in London at this time,—commissions, purchases of stock, bankers' accounts, &c.

faithful subjects can wish. The conclusion of our treaty with Prussia was a happy step; and that king has already had a proof of what our king is able to do, by the cession Sweden has made in his favour.* Denmark, I think, is ever to seek in their politics. . . . I hope from time to time we may expect to hear the Cardinal [Alberoni] is more and more put to it. . . . What concerns our affairs [the Peerage Bill] I think must go right. I must always do my Lord Stanhope the justice to say he expresses himself sanguinely and right upon that subject. Allow me to offer my most humble service to Lady Stair and to Mrs Primrose. Pray, tell my lady that there is a little man here, I mean Mr Schaub,† who, upon all occasions, is ready to drink a bumper to her health, though the glass were as high as himself. . . . I returned last night from an expedition that employed me very agreeably for a week, having been at Hartz to see the mines. I had the curiosity to go so far under ground, that I find my bones sorer than ever I felt them after posting.—My dear lord, believe me," &c.

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, to the Earl of Stair.

"WINDSOR LODGE, *Nov.* 9, 1719.

"I am very sensible of the continual business that one in your lordship's station must have, and have been always very sorry when I have heard you have

* The chief object of this treaty was to detach Prussia from the northern Powers, especially the Czar, and unite it more closely with the other members of the German Empire, and also with what were considered British interests.—Stair Papers, vol. xx.

† Schaub, a German, was secretary to George I.

been ill; for though you have obliged me in many things, and I ought in gratitude to be concerned for you, I have a tye that is stronger with most people—that is, veneration—as every one must have, I think, for you, that has any value for good sense and good qualities. I give you a great many thanks for what you say concerning my unhappy sister's pension, which I am sure nobody could have compassed but yourself; but I won't say no more of that, because I believe you don't like to be troubled with what some people call compliments. I hope I am made so as not to forget any kindness. I wish I had it in my power to show you otherwise than by expressions how very much and how faithfully I am, &c.

"*P.S.*—As to my sister's plate, I think the best way is to have it directed to the Duke of Marlborough, at his house in the Pell Mall. I thought one might bring silver or gold into any country with one, doing it any how, but that the difficulty lay in carrying of it out. But whatever is to be paid, I will discharge that both here and in France, if you will be so good as to let me know what it is, which is a thing I can never yet obtain from you; which I think hard, because I can pay no debts but this of money.

"The Duke of Marlborough gives you his most humble service and thanks for your kind remembrance of him. We go to Woodstock to-morrow, which will please him very much, being a place that he was always very fond of; and with a great deal of pains I have got him a habitation there, after an expense of £300,000. I believe you may have heard several reports of a swelling upon the face of Marl-

borough's shoulder, which has made a great discharge, and is not yet healed. We hope that he will receive an advantage by it, since his stomach is so good that he is not weakened by it in so long a time as he has had it. His head is always clear, and sometimes I flatter myself that he may quite recover; but my fears of him are more and greater than my hopes."

The Same to the Same.

"WINDSOR, *Dec.* 6, 1719.

"Though I troubled your lordship lately with a message by Lord Harborough, at my sister's request I take the liberty to write to you, she being in great want of her plate. She is very desirous that it should come by the French ambassador. I hope you will have the goodness to prevail with him to make this plate pass for his own, and give it to me when she comes into England. Mr Butcher, who delivered it to your lordship's direction, will give up any note that you ordered to be given to him to discharge him from it; and my sister says that he will write anything that is necessary and that you are pleased to order him to do. I hope Lady Stair will be so kind to me as to take this opportunity of sending me the *galon* [lace] by the ambassador that she gave me leave to trouble her about in the summer.—I am, with all imaginable respect, both hers and your lordship's most faithful and most humble servant,

"S. MARLBOROUGH."

Mr Robert Arbuthnot to the Earl of Stair.

(*Extract.*)

"London, *May* 11, 1719.

"I send off to-morrow twelve couple of hounds, with a huntsman, for the Marshal d'Etrées, and twenty-four couple of beagles for your lordship from Lord Hillsborough, with a huntsman, under the care of my servant, and have ordered them to go from St Denis, if the dogs are wearied, to refresh them for some days before they are to be delivered. I send the footman along with them to lay out the money and convey them, because they cannot speak French nor know the road. M. Regus, the king's *écuyer*, recommends the dogs as very good. They are bought of the king's huntsman, and will cost about £40 the twelve couple, besides the charges of transporting the whole, which will amount to about 10 guineas on this side, and 400 livres on the French side."

CHAPTER XVI.

Mr Law and the Regent Orleans—Lord Stair's quarrel with Law—His embassy approaches its close—Letters of Secretary Craggs—Attempt on the part of France and Spain to obtain the cession of Gibraltar—Spain at last accedes to terms of peace—The British Ministry hold by Law and recall Lord Stair—The Mississippi Scheme begins to totter—Last weeks of Stair at Paris.

The ambassador's relations with his celebrated countryman, Law, originally of a confidential and friendly character, had now become entirely the reverse. The first entry in Lord Stair's Journal upon his coming to Paris in 1715 was as follows :* "Wednesday, January 23, at night, arrived in Paris; saw nobody that night but Mr Law." His personal quarrel with Law when at the height of power and influence in the winter of 1719 was the main cause alleged of Stair being recalled in the spring of 1720.

The steps by which Law's position in France was attained were all taken within the time of Lord Stair's embassy. A not unreasonable proposal by him, in the last year of Louis XIV., to relieve the French finances by the establishment of a bank for issuing notes

* Hardwicke Papers, ii. 528. When in Paris in 1712, having fled from England on account of a homicide he had committed, Law applied to Lord Stair, as well as to other noblemen in England, to intercede with Government for his pardon.—Hist. MSS. Commission, 3d Report, p. 378.

secured upon landed property and the royal revenues, was refused by the council of ministers. The French banker, Bernard, told Lord Stair, in July 1715, that the Council would refuse Law's project, there being no foundation for the bank he proposed in a country where everything depended upon the king's pleasure.* A similar proposal was rejected in the first year of the Regency, but permission was given to Law to establish a private bank of issue, to be based upon the security of funds advanced by himself and other shareholders. This bank, after a year's trial, promised so well that the Regent took it into the hands of the Government, with the title of the Royal Bank, Law being named Director-general.

His speculative genius, however, demanded more scope than was afforded by the bank alone. In connection with it, he planned and carried some length a gigantic trading adventure, denominated (from one branch of it) the Mississippi Scheme. Shares in this company were run upon with an avidity out of all measure; and its principal director, Law, soon rose to an unexampled pinnacle of fortune and consideration. Stair, like many others, looked on with amazement; but he was decidedly in advance of the British ministry in the strong suspicion and misgiving he entertained of the highly dangerous nature of this project to the finances of France, and to all concerned in it.

It need not excite surprise that Law, elated with the immediate success of his schemes, partially lost his head. He interfered in other departments of the Government besides finance, and indulged in loose and idle predictions of the predominance his system

* Hardwicke State Papers, ii. 535.

was to gain for France, not over England alone, but over all other nations. To this sort of talk, annoying perhaps but not of great importance, Stair gave more heed than was necessary, and, at the same time, quarrelled personally with Law, of whom he formally complained to the Regent.

In the beginning of January, Lord Stair wrote to Secretary Craggs: *—

". . . I have again talked with the Duke of Orleans of the affair of St Lucia, and have received nearly the same answer, that we should immediately have the papers from the Marshal d'Etrées, and would see what was to do about it. I also spoke of the commission for the [American] boundaries. His Royal Highness assured me that we would have new conferences immediately, and that if Mr Law said the contrary, he apparently knew more than he did, both as to this and the affair of St Lucia; that he by no means guaranteed the discourses indulged in by Law, and, in fact, he heard daily that Law used very extraordinary language upon all kinds of things. The Regent assured me he had recently spoken to him of this in a manner which ought to have restrained his insolence, but that I might count upon it as certain that nothing could turn him [the Regent] from acting towards the king [George] as a good friend and ally. The Regent again promised to send away all the Jacobites from Paris. Their number increases every day, and their hopes seem to increase with their number. Upon my complaining of the insolence of the Calais and other sailing craft carrying on by force

* Jan. 3, 1720, Paris. The original is in French.

of arms a contraband trade on the British coast, his Royal Highness declared himself ready to make a convention with Great Britain for stopping the contraband trade on the respective coasts."

A few days afterwards he wrote again to Craggs:*—

". . . The Regent is so well aware of the difficulties into which Law is precipitating him, that he has several times within these few days said the strongest things to me against his vanity, presumption, and insolence. He said he knew him to be a man whose head had been turned by his vanity and unbounded ambition; that nothing would satisfy him but to be absolute master; that he had such an opinion of his own talents and contempt for the talents of others as to be quite impracticable with any other person; that he [the Regent] had tried to make him work with the most able men in France, but he could not accommodate himself with any one two days together, being impatient of every kind of contradiction. . . . 'But believe me,' said the Regent, 'I shall take care that he shall not embroil me with the king, or divide me from my allies. I must employ him in my finances, but he shall not be listened to in political affairs, and I shall be on my guard against any designs he may have.'

"I believe the Regent has said what he really thought; but, with all that, a great master of the treasury, like Law, is first minister wherever he is. . . . And we ought to know this people of France;

* Jan. 7, 1720. The original is in French, and an extract of it is given in the Hardwicke Papers.

we can never with reason count upon their friendship except we are in a condition to be a dangerous enemy to them, and oblige them to look in the face the serious injury we could do them if they broke with us. Upon this footing their friendship will be assured, but we shall miscalculate whenever we trust to them in case of need. This is why I never cease pressing the payment of the national debts.* France would then make her court to the king, and his Majesty would hold the balance between the house of Bourbon and the house of Austria. . . .

"You will have heard by courier from the Abbé Dubois, that I said to him last Tuesday I would ask to be recalled. This is not from pique, but I foresee, from the train affairs are taking, that I shall be no longer in a condition to be of service to the king at this court."

Immediately subsequent to the date of this letter, Lord Stanhope's intended visit to Paris took place. As to the arrangement of a peace with Spain, it became now more than ever the part of the allies to see that nothing should be conceded to that power contrary to the terms and spirit of the quadruple treaty, and a declaration to this effect was accordingly signed by the British, French and Imperial ministers during Lord Stanhope's stay at Paris.

Although no formal resolution had been come to in England as to recalling Lord Stair, it would seem

* Lord Stair's view as to the risk of England being seriously affected by the increase of the public debt was shared by many politicians of that day, although the subsequent prosperity of the country, with a still increasing debt, has shown it to be in so far erroneous, however just in one point of view may have been the principle he advocated.

that Lord Stanhope had intimated in January to the French Government that he would be recalled. On the 20th of that month Stair wrote to Mr Craggs :*—

"Since Lord Stanhope has thought fit to intimate my recall to the ministers of this court, who have taken care to publish it through all the town, I hope that the king will send as soon as possible some confidential person to Paris, where, unless I am much mistaken, his Majesty will soon require an enlightened minister. For my sentiments as to public affairs and the dispositions of this court, I refer to what I wrote immediately prior to Lord Stanhope's arrival here. . . . I am quite willing to believe in the sincerity of the Regent's intentions to continue his strict alliance with our master; but were they not sincere, could France act differently at present from what she is doing? Is she in a condition to break with the Emperor and the king of Great Britain? and in such a case, is it not clear that the whole paper system of Law would fall to the ground? . . .

"With respect to what has happened to myself I shall say nothing. I have been always ready, when it was a question of the public service, to make myself of no account. I wish we may find ourselves well with the submissions it has been judged proper to make to Mr Law. I declare to you they appear to me rather strong, and I foresee that we shall have difficulty in drawing from them either honour or profit. For the rest, I don't regret being relieved from a post

* The original letter is in French, an extract from it being printed in the Hardwicke Papers, ii. 603.

which I have foreseen for some time was becoming difficult and delicate. The manner of it has not been too gracious; but that makes no change in my unalterable devotion to the king's service and to my country."

To put the matter of his recall in the least unpleasant shape, a request to be recalled was sent by Lord Stair to the king, to which an answer in form was returned. In the same letter Mr Craggs touched upon the cession of Gibraltar, which, now that the terms of peace were under discussion, Spain became most anxious to see accomplished. It has been already remarked that the offer of Gibraltar Lord Stanhope was in the previous year empowered by the king to make to Alberoni, was to all intents and purposes practically declined. But now both the Spanish and the French governments were desirous of going back upon this offer, and of obtaining, if possible, the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain, some important commercial advantages being promised to England in exchange:—

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

"Whitehall, *Feb.* 18, 1720.

"I despatch back your Excellency's servant who brought me your letters of the 22d inst. N.S., and am now to acquaint you that, having laid before the king your request to be recalled, his Majesty is pleased to comply with it, and accordingly your letters of revocation will be prepared against Monday next, and transmitted to you by a courier. But as his Majesty has not yet had time to fix upon a proper person to succeed your Excellency, you will at the same time

receive his pleasure not to make use of those letters or stir from the court of France till your successor shall have received his instructions, and come to relieve you. You may, however, acquaint the Regent in the mean time that you expect the said letters and are preparing to depart.

"Beside what I have said in the French letter I have written on the subject of Gibraltar,* I must observe that as well his Majesty's servants as people of all other interests and denominations in this country agree that the cession of that place would not only be a ridicule upon our successors in this war, but that the possession of it will be a great security to our trade in the Mediterranean. And therefore, tho' his Majesty were ever so much disposed to part with it, it may well be doubted whether he would have it in his power so to do.

"I must further explain to your Excellency, that what I said upon this subject in the House of Commons was altogether unavoidable, since I was very sure that, without such a reasonable interposition, within less than half an hour an address to the king would have been proposed there for retaining Gibraltar, which, upon all accounts, it was highly necessary to prevent coming from any other quarter."

That great diplomatic pressure on the part of the Spanish and French courts was at this time used to procure the cession of Gibraltar appears from the following letter of Lord Stair to Craggs :†—

* Printed in the Appendix to this chapter.

† The original of this letter is in French, a portion of it being printed in the Hardwicke Papers, ii. 607. The draft or copy of the letter in the Stair Papers is in Lord Stair's own handwriting.

"PARIS, *February* 22, 1720.

"To explain my despatch, I ought to tell you that the Abbé Dubois, talking to me of the affair of Gibraltar, said that Lord Stanhope, during his last visit to Paris, spoke to him and the Duke of Orleans in such a manner that they believed the king [George] would make no difficulty about ceding Gibraltar; and that the Regent had thereupon of new assured the king of Spain that Gibraltar would be restored; that he had constantly assured him of the same thing by all secret channels — that is, through the Marquis Scotti; and that the honour of the Duke of Orleans was so engaged in that affair, as well in relation to the most Catholic king as to France, that he foresaw very bad consequences if in England they remained obstinate in refusing to restore Gibraltar; that Law was a fool and a madman, and called for war, though it was clear that his system of paper would thereby collapse, Law asserting on the contrary that the goodness of his system would be seen in a war.

"The Abbé Dubois said to me that the blame of the whole of this affair fell upon him, and the Duke of Orleans had said he would never have pardoned another than Dubois for the fault he had committed in communicating to us the acceptance by the king of Spain [of the terms of the quadruple treaty], and that, if it had not been for this blunder, the cession of Gibraltar was secure. . . .

"One cannot doubt that France has this affair of Gibraltar extremely at heart, and a great deal more than Spain has; the reasons may be easily understood. . . ."

The British government were proof against the specious arts of Dubois, and were now perfectly decided in refusing to yield one jot upon so delicate a subject. In a few days after, Lord Stair wrote to Sir George Byng in command of the Mediterranean fleet: "You will find in your letter [from England] the answer our court has made to the memorial containing the king of Spain's demands, and in that answer the sentiments of our court relating to Gibraltar. In the mean time, France insists very strongly that Gibraltar may be delivered up to Spain, and M. de Senneterre is set out for England to-night, with orders to press that point very warmly. You are better able than any body to judge of what importance that place may be for the security of our trade in case of a war."

The British government continuing firm upon this the only point in the way of an accession by Spain to the Quadruple Alliance, the accession was at last satisfactorily concluded, and the evacuation by Spain of Sicily and Sardinia, as well as the other conditions of peace, were in due time faithfully performed.

In March, Lord Stanhope again visited Paris, where Mr Craggs wrote to him :—

"As your lordship is upon the spot where the greatest affairs are under negotiation, and from whence our expectations must arise, I can have little to say to you upon them from here, more than that his Majesty does entirely approve of your lordship's conduct, and has seen the fruits of it with the utmost satisfaction. The difficulties you have surmounted, the good disposition you have raised and confirmed,

and the clear conviction you have given the Regent that it is his interest to persevere in joint measures with the king, have established matters on that foot which is most pleasing to his Majesty, and afford the agreeable prospect of seeing our great work completed with the same union with which it has been carried on. I can return but this general answer to the contents of your lordship's letter; only, as to that part of it wherein you press the speedy departure of Sir Robert Sutton and Col. Stanhope, all the despatches for the former are ready, except his instructions, the drawing of which need not retard him one day. . . . The delay of this messenger will be balanced by the good news he staid to bring your lordship of the success the South Sea Bill has met with in the Committee of the whole House, when the question against fixing a price upon the annuities was carried yesterday by 244 against 140. This great majority in the most important article framed to oppose its success has had the desired effect upon the credit of the company, and must discourage any other little attempts against the Bill." *

In April, Mr Craggs begins to be alarmed at the probable effect of Law's schemes on the financial affairs of both countries, and he writes to Lord Stair :—

"Cockpit, *April* 14, 1720.

". . . I leave to Arbuthnot to acquaint you with my thoughts in relation to our money matters, which our people in the city do not apprehend Mr Law can do any great prejudice to. I am sorry to

* March 24, 1720, Whitehall—Stair Papers, vol. xxiv.

say that, if he can, we are not yet in a condition of taking measures to oppose him, for he does what he pleases by edicts, and by being in possession of all the money in France; and we can stir but in very few instances without acts of Parliament, which are difficult to obtain, because there is always some private interest or some want of understanding these matters in the House of Commons. And besides, this country and particularly the moneyed men and societies of it are as yet in a way of holding that gentleman's projects in contempt, and of believing they will at one time or other all blow up. I cannot help hoping myself that those projects of distressing us will prove ineffectual. We go upon this plain proposition, that while money is here at better interest and with more security than in other places, people will leave it here, and that the interest of undesigning foreigners will make them by a natural circulation replace more than the malice of others can draw away. . . .

"What they have done in France amounts in my poor opinion to no more than if we should by act of Parliament coin more exchequer bills than would pay our debts, and punish every man that would not take them. The nature of our Government will not admit of such extremities, and we must be beat at these weapons, if they can be employed with safety to those who forge them."

When preparing to return to England, and acting till his successor, Sir Robert Sutton, should arrive, Lord Stair received the following letter from Sir David Dalrymple, whose lukewarm support of the

Government in Scotland, together with his advanced age, had just occasioned his retirement from the office of Lord Advocate : *—

" KNIGHTSBRIDGE, *May* 6, 1720.

" I hope this will find you recovered of that aguishness which these unnatural easterly and northerly winds have brought upon you. I intend to meet your lordship half a day's journey before you come to town. I foresee your arrival can be but a few hours before the king's setting out for Hanover,—so short, indeed, that I am in doubt whether it were not better to meet his Majesty in Holland. But it is like your lordship wants to see the ministers here, as well as those who go along with the king. What concerns myself did not move me one bit, though the manner was rough. . . . My master does me the justice to say that I have served him faithfully, but that having declared my sentiments against some measures thought necessary for his service, it was thought better for me not to be drawn to work in their extension, and better for the service that they should be carried on by people who approve those measures heartily, and are ready to assist one another. Meantime the king was willing to grant a mark of his favour, to convince me and everybody of his esteem for me. It was proposed that my two sons should be conjunct auditors of the exchequer in Scotland for life, with survivance, and £1200 salary,

* Sir D. Dalrymple's retirement was probably by the advice of the Duke of Roxburgh, Scottish Secretary, by whom the Solicitor-General Dundas was immediately recommended to succeed him as King's Advocate.

which Earl Sunderland did not dislike, and undertook to speak of it to the king. His Majesty was pleased to renew the expressions of his goodness to me, but would have me conjunct in place of my second son.* After that I had no choice but to submit. This day he told Mr Chetwynd, in answer to some doubt he offered about my meeting with opposition in being re-elected, that none of the king's servants should oppose, and that intimation should be given for that effect, which I will press to have explained to-morrow, when I shall have the honour, by appointment, to see his lordship; for (truth's good) I fear the proposition of giving me a pension and this shape of the thing, by which there must be a new election, were laid by some good friends of mine with intention to turn me out of the House, to which I will not consent. To-morrow I am to be presented by Earl Sunderland to the king.

"Here is nothing but change. Lincoln has gone out at his own request to make way for Mr Walpole, Boscawen resigning his staff of comptroller to Methuen for being made a viscount, and continued treasurer of Ireland; Duke of Grafton goes to Ireland, and with him goes Horace Walpole. . . . The world say that the king and the prince have great shares in the stocks, and are very good managers. I wish your Mississippi—I mean in what concerns you—were as flourishing as our stocks are. One lately come over says that Mr Law is again in high favour, and resents much your lordship being his

* The system of conjunct offices and reversions of offices, much in vogue in Scotland during the seventeenth and earlier part of the eighteenth centuries, was discouraged by later administrations.

enemy. It may be so with some folks here, though your quarrel is not for any cause of your own concern. I conclude; God send us a blyth meeting."

The crisis of the Mississippi Scheme was now approaching. Notwithstanding the influential position in which Law stood with the government, and the feverish excitement which for a time kept up the price of the Mississippi stock, a certain degree of distrust and vague alarm was abroad at Paris during the winter and spring of 1720.* One alarming symptom was a constant drain of specie from the Royal Bank of France, which was hopelessly involved with the Mississippi Scheme. To meet this danger, an arbitrary edict† was issued, prohibiting all persons, as well as secular and religious communities, from having in their possession more than 500 livres in specie. Bullion, especially silver coins and plate, was making its way out of the country into England and Holland. In a letter to Lord Stair in March, Mr Craggs fairly enough characterised Law as a comet which had lately appeared in the world; whether he would set it on fire or disappear it was impossible to say. The British ministry, however, with Lord Stanhope at their head, either from short-sightedness as to the result, or from the mere fact of Law's influence with the Regent, and his having been recently appointed comptroller-general of the finances and a member of council, stood by this "comet" as long as they could, and assigned Lord Stair's quarrel

* See Stair's letters to Craggs in the Hardwicke Papers, particularly that of March 12, 1720, ii. 610.

† February 27, 1720.

with the great projector as the principal reason for changing their ambassador.

The manufacture of paper-money by the bank, supported by the edicts of the Government, was proceeding in May 1720 with great activity, when a strong representation was made to the Regent by two of the principal members of his council, that it had become necessary to equalise the proportion between the notes and the coined money. Though reclaimed against by Law, the measure of lowering the value of the notes of the bank by one half, and fixing the "actions" and shares of the company at a reduced price, was adopted by an edict of the 21st May 1720. By this step of the government, which only accelerated the impending crash, the credit of the bank's paper-money gave way, and in a very short time the whole scheme collapsed.

The following letters of Mr Craggs to Stair, with one of the last of Lord Stair's letters in answer from Paris, will close these selections of his correspondence in the character of ambassador :—

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

"WHITEHALL, *May* 16, 1720, O.S.

"I have received the honour of your Excellency's despatches, with the good news from Sicily of the treaty of evacuation concluded there, and heartily congratulate with you upon this happy event, which has removed all the difficulties that retarded the completion of the peace. I have also received your letter with the late extraordinary *arrêt* for reducing the bank, upon which I will not allow myself to make

any observations, the finances of France being an affair whereof we in this country do not form any judgment. I shall, however, as it is matter of curiosity, be impatient to hear what effect this important edict will have on the minds of the people. Sir R. Sutton continues on this side, after repeated solicitations to hasten and relieve your Excellency; but if he delays his journey so long as till Monday next, I think I shall be able to send you his Majesty's leave to come home as soon as you please."

"COCKPIT, *May* 23, 1720.

"This is the last private letter I shall trouble you with during your lordship's stay in France, since Sir R. Sutton does at last set out upon Thursday next. . . . I desired Arbuthnot to acquaint you that his Majesty had given you your plate. I will also endeavour to get all your extraordinaries allowed together, and when the civil list Bill is past there will be no doubt of their being immediately paid. If you prepare every thing to come away a day or two after Sir Robert's arrival, you may still be here three or four days before the king's departure for Hanover, which, according to my computation, will be towards the 15th of next month. We think our affairs at home and abroad in an extraordinary condition; and are not a little impatient to learn what turn they will take in France upon these convulsions in their finances, nor less curious to know what is to become of your good friend, Mr Law. I must confess that it has always been the opinion of the most intelligent persons we have in money matters, that his schemes

would not have better success. I hope your lordship has saved yourself in this general confusion. . . ."

"WHITEHALL, *June* 6, 1720.

". . . I have it in command, in case this should find your Excellency still at Paris, to acquaint you that his Majesty has no objection to your coming away without taking your leave in a public manner, provided that the avoiding any ceremonial on that occasion may give no offence to the French court, nor be looked upon as a slight or disregard on your part either as the king's ambassador or as Lord Stair.* . . ."

The Earl of Stair to Mr Secretary Craggs.

"PARIS, *June* 12, 1720.

"I am very much obliged to you for procuring the order for my plate; and I shall be so much the more obliged to you for procuring the orders and advancing the payment of what is due to me upon my appointments and extraordinaries, that I believe I shall be able to save but little of what I imagined once I had in this country. I see plainly I shall not be able to see the king in England. It is a great while ago since Mr Law told his friends I should not be allowed to have the honour of seeing the king. It is pretty hard to digest, I own, if, after serving the king very faithfully, very zealously, and with some success, I should have the mortification not so much as to have my master's good countenance. . .

* Several other letters of Mr Secretary Craggs of this year are printed in the appendix.

Mr Law still brags that he will make our stocks tumble by withdrawing the French effects. He seems more bent than ever to do us mischief, believing it the only way he has left to save himself and his system. How far he may be able to draw his master into his notions, God knows. . . . His master professes the best intentions imaginable. In the mean time they go on with the new levies with all the application imaginable; and I am assured they are giving out commissions for levying some more German regiments in Alsace. All over France they talk of a war with Britain, and the Jacobites are in greater numbers at Paris, and more insolent. They talk of great changes at this court, and that the Archbishop of Cambray [Dubois] is to be sent to his diocese. Law's friends give out that he has more credit than ever at the Palais Royal. That may be; but I dare swear he has lost a great part of his master's good opinion, though at the same time he is very unwilling to renounce the fine views Law had given him. I think we have nothing to fear from France at present but by surprise; but, in my opinion, it will behove us to be very attentive against something of that kind. It is plain the Jacobites have their heads filled with some such notion. As soon as Sir Robert [Sutton] arrives, I shall certainly set out and leave some friends to take the best care they can of my effects." *

* Hardwicke Papers, ii. 620.

CHAPTER XVII.

Close of Lord Stair's embassy, and his return to England—Final collapse of the Mississipi scheme—Character of Stair by the Duke of St Simon—He resides for some time in London—Retires to his estate in Scotland—His pursuits—Newliston—Castle Kennedy—Letters of his overseers—He deals in black cattle—Letters of Colonel Cathcart—The grounds of Stowe—Court of Queen Caroline, who patronises English manufactures.

Lord Stair now returned to England, and it must be said in partial disgrace. That the ministry were justified in recalling him may be admitted, when we consider not so much the fact of his quarrel with the then all-powerful minister of finance, as the imaginary alarm expressed in his despatches at the supposed designs of the Regent's government against Britain. The Duke of Orleans had proved by his acts and deeds his fidelity to the English alliance; and history has discovered nothing in his conduct, either previous to or at the time of Stair's departure from France, to indicate that he contemplated any change of policy.

The legitimate success in the first instance of the bank set on foot by Law, and the sudden popularity and astonishing rise in value of the shares of his Mississippi scheme, which was nothing but a wild speculation engrafted upon the bank of issue, to some extent affected the reasoning powers and blinded the

judgment not only of the Regent but of the British ministry; while the warnings of Stair, in this instance justified by the event, were disregarded as the effect of personal prejudice and temper. In the course of a short month after his return to England, the credit of the gigantic adventure having given way irrecoverably, the shares fell to nothing. Widespread disaster ensued, and Law himself, thrown from his high estate, and escaping with difficulty the angry vengeance of the Parisians, was posting on his way to Brussels, a fugitive fleeing for life.

And so ended Lord Stair's memorable embassy, in which the important services rendered by him to his country and to the Hanover family were undeniable, although their merit was latterly detracted from by his unconciliatory deportment towards certain people of influence at the French court, and by the vague suspicions of the Regent's designs with which he alarmed the ministry at home. When serving in the army with Marlborough, he had imbibed a dislike of the French which he never got over.*

The Duc de St Simon's description of Stair's appearance and manners at the period of his embassy will be read with interest: "Lord Stair was a very plain [*très simple*] Scottish gentleman, tall, well-made, thin, still in the vigour of his age, holding his head high, and with a lofty air. He was lively, very enterprising, bold and audacious by temperament and on principle. He had wit, address,

* Mémoires du Duc de St Simon. In the notices of Lord Stair in these memoirs, we must bear in mind that St Simon was of the old French party, who hated the British ambassador and the English alliance.

fashion; was active withal, well-informed, reserved, master of himself and of his countenance, speaking easily all languages, according as he thought it suitable to use one or other. Under the pretext of loving society, good cheer and debauchery, which, however, he never pushed to any great extent, he was attentive in making acquaintances and forming connections of which he could make use in the service of his master and his party. He was poor, expensive, very ardent and ambitious."

Lord Stair, upon arriving in London, took a temporary house in Arlington Street. His reception by the Court and by his friends in the ministry we may suppose to have been formal and not very cordial: he received no further diplomatic employment. His fortune and estates were much impaired by the debts he had contracted, which his government allowances as ambassador were never sufficient to liquidate. Besides his regiment and salary as admiral of Scotland, what he had to depend upon was the revenue of his Scottish landed estates, which were more or less charged with debt. These consisted of Newliston in West Lothian, where he chiefly resided when in Scotland, Castle Kennedy in Wigtonshire, and Stair in Ayrshire. Lady Stair and her daughter, and his sister the Countess of Loudoun, were residing with him in London, after his return from France.

One of Lord Stair's fashionable acquaintance in London was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who, in her letters to her sister the Countess of Mar in 1721, introduces him occasionally among the notices of her "dear friends." Thus she writes from Twickenham: "There are some other pieces of scandal not un-

entertaining, particularly the Earl of Stair and Lady M. Howard, who being your acquaintance I thought would be some comfort to you." In another letter she mentions his sister, the Countess of Loudoun, and Lady Stair, as being in her neighbourhood;—"The first of these ladies is on the brink of Scotland for life. She does not care, and to say truth I see no very lively reasons why she should."

In the summer of 1721, Lord Stair appears to have been staying at Kensington for his health. Sir David Dalrymple writes of him to a female correspondent in Scotland: *—

"Since my Lord Stair went to Kensington, he finds himself a good deal better; for though there cannot be great difference of the air, yet he fancies himself in the country, and rides out and walks a good deal, which is much the best medicine for his disease. He went to Hampton Court yesterday, to see how he could be provided in a house. The Duke of Newcastle has given him his apartments there, but there is no furniture in them, and it would take more money to put up furniture than one could hire a house for; so if my Lord can find a house furnished, I believe he would rather take it. I design to see him this day, so I shall know what he has resolved upon. I am now looking out for company to come down with. . . ."

Lord and Lady Stair went soon after this to Scot-

* Sir D. Dalrymple of Hailes to Mrs ——; London, June 6, 1721, —Stair Papers, vol. xxiv. Sir David Dalrymple died before the end of this year.

land, where they lived in comparative seclusion for the next twenty years.* They resided during the greater part of each year at the house of Newliston, which was a tall, old-fashioned Scottish mansion, having a tower attached to one end and a turret or two at the corners of its high-pitched roof. Besides Miss Primrose, who constantly resided with them, the Countess of Loudoun and Captain John Dalrymple of the Enniskillen Dragoons, second son of Lord Stair's brother, the Hon. William Dalrymple, were frequent inmates of their family circle.

With characteristic energy, the ex-ambassador devoted himself to the pursuits of agriculture and planting,—introducing improvements in both, though (as in the case of many agriculturists) his improvements were more profitable to his successors than to himself. He brought new implements and machinery from England, cultivating turnips and cabbages, new kinds of grasses, and grain crops upon an extensive scale. After a few years he occasionally visited London in the winter and spring, going up in the beginning of January and returning about the end of April. Associated as his home in Scotland was with healthy exercise and the pursuits of agriculture and woodcraft, he always professed to come back to it from London with great satisfaction. Lady Stair, who was of quiet and domestic habits, went usually in summer to drink the medicinal waters of Moffat, or the "goats' whey" of the

* From the date of Lord Stair's return to England till the year 1730, when he began to take an active part in the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, there are hardly any letters or documents of any kind preserved among the Stair Papers.

Cheviot Hills on the English side of the Northumbrian border.

The grounds immediately about the house of Newliston were laid out by Lord Stair in straight lines, with sunk fences and bastions, in the form of an encampment or fortified position; while the more distant grounds and woods were planted out also in straight lines, in the French taste of the time, with intersecting and corresponding avenues.*

Castle Kennedy, which Lord and Lady Stair usually visited in the autumn months, is a place more within itself than Newliston, and with more striking natural features; and upon it Lord Stair expended a large amount of money in landscape-gardening. At no great distance from the shore of Loch Ryan, it is surrounded by hills and wooded rising grounds, at the foot of which are two small lakes, partly artificial, the White Loch and the Black Loch of Castle Kennedy.

The interior of the massive old castle, which stands on a terraced height, was burnt in 1716; but Stair's improvements and ornamentation of the grounds were carried on all the same, while he resided at the

* The current tradition of the woods at Newliston having been planted in divisions to resemble one of Marlborough's battles would seem to have no foundation in fact. Indeed, the same remark has been made with an equal want of foundation as to the laying out of the woods of Castle Kennedy in Wigtonshire (Statistical Account). The present proprietor of Newliston, T. A. Hog, Esq., whose ancestor purchased the estate after Lord Stair's death, and built a new mansion-house, finds, even at the present day, the greatest difficulty in varying or laying out the grounds and lands of Newliston upon any other or more modern plan than that of Stair's formal divisions, who has literally left his mark upon the estate in hard and fast lines, deeply cut in military style with ditch and dyke and planting enclosures.

...olour drawing

...h Savory & Co Strand London

house of Culhorn in the neighbourhood. Deep grassy slopes and embankments, lines of closely-mown terraces and rows of trees and shrubs, heights like miniature forts with bastions and angles, still show the hand of a master familiar with the French fashion of gardening as well as with the fortifications of Flanders. A semicircular rustic theatre, in the manner of the one at Versailles, is suggestive of parties of pleasure and of a warmer climate; the *tout ensemble* having this peculiarity, that the taste of ornamentation borrowed from a champaign country is applied to broken and undulating ground, without much apparent incongruity ensuing.*

After a break of about eight years, the series of letters in the Stair Papers recommences in 1730. These later letters, neither so numerous nor (with a few exceptions) of so much historical moment as those during the period of Lord Stair's embassy, are yet of very considerable interest. They are chiefly letters from personal and political friends, or family letters, including a few from the overseers of his Scotch estates. In the course of his estate management we find him getting from England in January of that year a new plough of very elaborate construction :—

* While the characteristic part of the original landscape-gardening remains, considerable additions to it have been made in terrace-work and trees, and in the building of a modern castle (not too near the old one) by the present Earl of Stair. The variety of ground, which prevents the straight lines from being tiresome, the woods and the two lakes combine to form within a limited basin of country a really unique piece of park scenery.

Edward Moore to the Earl of Stair.

"BRISTOL, *Jan.* 23, 1730.

"I received a few days ago the plough of a new invention that cuts the ground in four places at once, and a sloping share behind raiseth it, throws it off, and lets it fall like dust. It is well contrived, and I am persuaded will answer expectation. I have met a ship that goes to Greenock, named the Humility, Hector Orr master, on board of which I have shipped it. I shall write to Mr Kennedy, the Customs officer, to desire him to send it to your lordship's estate; the ship is to sail the beginning of next week. Mr John Tull, who is now at London, and lodges at the White Bear in Piccadilly, told me here this plough would cost about three guineas; but now he writes me to pay five for it. . . . Colonel Cathcart has by this ship another such plough made for him." *

When residing at Culhorn, during the months of autumn, Lord Stair, according to his custom, received from the land-steward at Newliston an account of what was doing there in his absence:—

David Baillie to the Earl of Stair.

"NEWLISTON, *August* 30, 1730.

"We have had exceedingly fine weather all this week; not one drop of rain, and the most of our corns are cut down. If it is fair till Thursday night,

* Later in 1730 Lord Stair has more "ploughs and drills" sent to him by the same person.

I expect we will have done shearing. We begin to get in the corns on Tuesday. I wrote to your lordship before, that the barley that was sown at West farm with the clover was very good; and your lordship never saw a greater appearance of clover than is on that ground, both thick and strong. I design it not to be fed on this harvest, for it will be the sooner ready next spring that it is now preserved. I shall cause our wrights to make one of the new machines for sowing, and send it to your lordship. The wheat within the gardens is sown in Mr Gull's method; but I'm afraid it will not be the better to have been sown with this very dry weather, for the ground is harder now than it was any time this year. If the throng of our harvest was over, I shall be sure to fall to [begin to work upon] the earth at the quarries, and lay it on Lindsay's Craigs; we had a very good second crop there. I wrote to your lordship in my last, that since the horses here were kept as troop horses, I thought it was no loss to your lordship to let them stay, for I'll get work of them all till the end of October. And if they should even forage here all winter, I cannot see that your lordship will be a loser, for what horses are kept here their forage is saved in Galloway; and I believe your lordship never had more [forage] there as yet than there was cattle to eat it; and if we should run scarce of our own, we are in a place where we can be supplied without being imposed on. I am of opinion your lordship may send the cattle that are designed for the use of the family here, so as they be here the 20th September. By that time our fields will be all cleared of the corns, and they will have good stubble. We

are now busy finishing the shades [sheds]. It takes a vast deal of attendance and work to get the causeway laid round them, but there was a necessity to have it done before winter. I am causing make a very good stable in the west end of them, that will hold twelve or fourteen horses. I expect to get the brew and bake-houses ready before my lady be here, and I do think we will have good barley; and though the wheat be blacked, it will be very good [?], and I shall endeavour to get plenty of coals laid, which is all to trouble your lordship from," &c.

"*P.S.*—The peaches and nectarines being ready, and the price that is offered for them not being worth the while of sending them to Edinburgh, and none of your lordship's friends being there to dispose of them to, I thought it was the best way to send the bearer, Edward Stewart, alongst with them, especially that there will be plenty of things to send back with him. He has twenty-six dozen peaches and nine dozen nectarines. I have given him six shillings for his charges. This day is fair, and we are cutting the barley on the west side of the wester park, which seems to be very good. We have seven carts and two wains this day carrying coals from Queensferry. This night our coach-horses are taken off grass."

The following letters of Colonel Cathcart, now an equerry in the household of George II., touch upon various topics of interest:—

"WINDSOR, *August* 24, 1730.

"Last Saturday, upon my return from my progress

through Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, I found your lordship's letter of the 10th. I was charmed with Cobham and with his place.* The gardens, to my mind, are laid out with more taste than anything I have seen in England, and the ridings he has made through his park are noble. He is much the better for his having been at Tunbridge, and is as keen and as happy with his country operations as an old friend of his [Lord Stair] can be in Galloway, about whom we had much discourse. From Stowe I went to the Duke of Argyle's, where I found my landlord quite pleased with a place that must have appeared to me with some disadvantage after coming from Cobham's. I found his Grace in great good-humour; he is to have what I mentioned to your lordship formerly. He informed himself about your lordship in the kindest and best manner. I took Deloraine's and Earl Lichfield's (a very pretty place) in my way to Blenheim. One part of the park is finely wooded; the river is pretty, the banks well laid out but ill keeped, and the bridge is magnificent. The gardens are large, but not made with much taste; and for the house, it only pleased me as it is a mark of the nation's gratitude to keep up the remembrance of so great a man. I wish the great sum of money had been laid

* Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham, to whom the first epistle of Pope's 'Moral Essays' is dedicated, had served with Lord Stair under Marlborough, and was an intimate personal friend. Stowe, the grounds of which were laid out by Lord Cobham, was at that time in the state which pleased the eye of Pope, and would have delighted Sir Uvedale Price—that is, previous to its *improvement* by Kent and Brown. Regularity and symmetry were still the rule in landscape-gardening, and Stowe abounded in temples and architectural decoration,—Lord Cobham acting in this respect up to the motto of his family—*Templa quam dilecta.*

out with more skill. I returned hither by Oxford, much pleased with my expedition. If your lordship should happen to make the same tour, it will put you as little out of conceit with Castle Kennedy and Newliston as it did me with Auchencree.

"I wish I had received your directions about your cattle before I was at Woodstock; I could have spoke to some of her Grace's people about them. She is now at Tunbridge, and not having the honour to be known to her, I am sorry I can be of no use as to that particular. I talked fully to Earl Halifax yesterday about your black beasts. It is a great while since he wrote to Laird Heron for the quality he has occasion for himself; he would have been much better pleased to have dealt with your lordship. He is of opinion that most people have already thought of the ways of providing themselves in what they want, and seems to wish that your lordship may have sold your cattle at home, because he reckons that the long drought we have had will have destroyed all the turnips. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

"London, *October* 31, 1730.

"I have been too long in your lordship's debt for your letter of the 12th. The distress my family has been in occasioned it. I had three children ill of the chincough; the youngest girl was for some days in great danger. Since they have been out of hazard their mother is fallen by with the fatigue she took during her children's illness. I have talked with Lord Islay about Provost Campbell. My lord tells me he has

taken care Heron's man shall not get into Douglas's place. . . .

"I did not meet with Earl Halifax till yesterday. He approves much of your lordship delaying to send him up your beasts till the spring.* He says he will take forty or fifty of them then. He has received a parcel of Galloway beasts from Laird Heron lately, for which he makes him pay £4 the head. They are marked with an S, which disposes his lordship to believe they may have come from your grounds. He has at the same time got some Highlanders from the same hand at £3 the head. Both sorts please him, but he thinks the price too high. When your lordship and he meet this winter, I reckon you'll come to settle your dealings upon a foot that will be profitable to both. I give your lordship joy of the appearances you have of lead in your grounds bordering with Gainoch's. I wish heartily the thing may turn out to a good account. I should have told your lordship that her Majesty [Queen Caroline] informed herself with great goodness about the state of your health and your country operations. The page makes you his compliments; he has done as you desired of him to the soldier who brought him your lordship's recommendation. Yesterday the Court was very magnificent, and what will please your lordship to know was that almost all the gentry wore the manufacture of Britain. Her Majesty had a very rich stuff made at London, which she took care to declare to everybody,

* It was not unusual at this time for English agriculturists and large proprietors to purchase from Scotland herds of small black cattle of the Galloway breed, and also Highland cattle, which were driven into England to fatten in the rich pastures of the southern counties.

assuring them at the same time she never would, for the future, wear anything that was not made here. The most of the court ladies had followed her Majesty's example, and many of the gentlemen's cloaks were of English velvets and brocades. We are near come up to the perfection of the Genoa velvets. There was not one new laid head or pair of ruffles at court. Her Majesty wore a flowered muslin head. Being upon the subject of manufactures, let me inform your lordship of what I heard from Sir William Strickland yesterday,—they never had so great a demand for their coarse cloths in Yorkshire as this year. The Russian manufacture is blown up, and the Czarina has taken the clothing of her army from our agent.

"We have not as yet learned what the council of war that was on the 26th at Berlin has done. Lieutenant-general Schullenberg, of that service, is president of it—a man of an exceeding fair character, and one who has always behaved himself well to the Queen; but I am afraid the body of the members are not of that class; there are captains amongst them. I have heard of a new charge against the unfortunate prince. The monster, they say, had maltreated him prodigiously some time before he made the attempt to get away, and since that occasion it is now said he laid his hand upon his sword. It is to be hoped the [king] will not find a set of men to condemn the son upon the father's bare accusation.* We know nothing of

* This passage refers to the attempt made by the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards Frederick the Second, to make his escape from Prussia on account of his father's harsh treatment. After the ill success of this attempt he was confined in the Castle of Custrin.

what is doing in the negotiations abroad. His Majesty has given Earl Waldegrave a high mark of his favour. He is declared lord of the bedchamber, as Tankerville and Lord Guildford are to the prince. The mistress [Hon. Mrs Cathcart] offers her compliments to your lordship and to the family. I beg leave to make mine to the ladies.—My dear lord, adieu."

"London, *December* 22, 1730.

". . . I have reason to think that whatever the servants might be brought to agree to, the master would by no means take your absence [from London] well. You may make your stay short; I judge it to be absolutely for your interest to show yourself once here, and the earlier you appear the better it will be taken. Earl Halifax is laid up with the gout in the country. I have not seen him these three weeks. At present people talk most of the accounts the government received a few days ago from Sabine by a man-of-war sent express with them about the works the Spaniards are raising at Gibraltar. . . ."

"London, *December* 24, 1730.

"I had the pleasure to receive your lordship's letter last night, with the account of your having taken the resolution to come up, which is the more agreeable to me that all your friends here approve of it entirely. I dined with Scarborough to-day, to whom I made your compliments in your own words. . . . I have had some conversation with Sir Charles Wager to-day about the new works the Spaniards are about to raise at Gibraltar. He assures me the land-men are mistaken, and that the Spaniards have it

not in their power to hinder our ships from lying safe about the new mole. We have had a most melancholy account of poor Lord Deloraine from Oxfordshire to-day; that he had been seized all of a sudden last Monday with an apoplectic fit, out of which there are scarce hopes he can recover. We are all in great affliction for him; there never was a more gentleman-like, pretty, honourable man.* . . . I wish your lordship a merry Christmas and a happy new year; I hope you'll get up safe to us. . . ."

* Henry Scott, Earl of Deloraine, second son of the Duke of Monmouth and of Anne Duchess of Buccleuch, died the day after the date of this letter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Lord Stair's occasional visits to London—His personal and political friends—Letter as to Church patronage in Scotland previous to the Secession of 1732—Bailiffs' reports of rural operations—Letters of Lord Binning from Naples—Of Lady Murray of Stanhope—Of Lord Balcarres from Castle Kennedy.

A JOURNEY to London from Scotland in winter was a very different thing in the year 1731 from what it is in the year 1875, looking to the tediousness of posting in former times, the badness of the roads, and the danger from highwaymen. It may be remarked, however, that no accidents are noted to have occurred in any of Lord Stair's journeys to or from London during a long period of years. People of his condition frequently travelled in company, and always with arms and attendants. Between Edinburgh and London, the usual mode of travelling for those who were active and in the vigour of life was riding on horseback, with relays of horses; in the case of elderly gentlemen and ladies, coaches with post-horses were used. Stage-coaches were still in their infancy, and used only for shorter journeys than that between London and Edinburgh. Upon the present occasion, Lord Stair, leaving Newliston about the end of the year,

reached London after a week's journey in the beginning of January.

Amongst Lord Stair's chief personal and political friends, besides his cousins, Colonel Cathcart and Lord Drummore (son of the President, Sir Hew Dalrymple, and a judge of the Session), were Alexander Earl of Marchmont, the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Cobham, the Duke of Montrose, James Erskine of Grange* and the old Duchess of Marlborough. These were all enrolled in the ranks of the Patriot or Country party, and were engaged in carrying on a zealous though for long unavailing opposition to the thoroughly organised government of Sir Robert Walpole. It appears from a letter of Lord Drummore that Stair had already joined this party:†—

"*February* 7, 1731.

"I have the honour and pleasure of your lordship's of the 2d February, which I communicated to Grange, who had one from M. P. by the same post. This goes by the first way: I choose to change sometimes. Your lordship gives me authority to contradict numberless fables that are uttered here with solemn im-

* The Hon. James Erskine, Lord Grange in the Court of Session and Lord Justice-Clerk, was brother of John Earl of Mar, and a determined opponent of Sir Robert Walpole. Himself impetuous in a high degree, he was married to a woman of extremely violent temper, daughter of Chiesely of Dalry, the murderer of President Lockhart. The singular history of her forcible abduction in January 1732 and "sequestration" (to use a mild word) by her husband in various castles and at last in the remote isle of St Kilda, till her death in 1745, is well known. The most particular account of it I have seen is in Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh, p. 204.

† Lord Drummore (unsigned) to the Earl of Stair, Feb. 7, 1731.

pudence, but with little credit. I do affirm that the spirit which prevails in this country is the true spirit of liberty and property consistent with our happy constitution. . . . My approbation signifies little of the plan, but my conjecture was *à peu près* what I have the honour to know from your lordship. If your laudable labours are crowned with success, of which I cannot give myself leave not to entertain the strongest hopes, it is well; if not, what may and will be said and cannot be answered cannot fail to make the desired impression upon every thinking man."

The question of Church patronage in the Scottish Presbyterian Establishment, which had occasioned so much discussion and irritation in the years immediately subsequent to the Revolution and in the reign of Anne, was now working a schism in the Church of Scotland. The following letter (unsigned) from a correspondent in Edinburgh to Lord Stair, gives what may be a tolerably accurate view of the state of matters prior to the first Secession in 1732 :—

—— to the Earl of Stair.

"EDINBURGH, *May* 8, 1731.

"MY DEAR LORD,—This packet brings a dutiful answer to the king's gracious letter to the General Assembly [of the Church of Scotland], in which they promise to proceed with the usual moderation of former assemblies; and I hope they will be as good as their word, tho' some incidents have occasioned the choice of a good number of members that would be *willing* to enter into debates and arguments that

would neither be agreeable to the government nor their own interest, and who are particularly instructed by their presbyteries to represent Patronage as a grievance, and to address the king to be relieved of it. And some Instructions which have been produced and read in a Committee bear that the Act of parliament provides that no presentation shall be regarded to stop the currency of six months unless the presentee accept it; and that therefore the General Assembly be moved to prohibit and discharge any probationer or minister to accept a presentation which is pretended to be contrary to the principles of this Church; from whence the consequence is drawn that there will be place for a popular call. One principal occasion of these instructions was a great dispute in the West Kirk parish about the settlement of a minister, wherein the several ranks of persons claiming a title to vote were very near equal. Such a dispute created abundance of trouble to the presbytery by objections about the hability of voters on both sides. These debates happening within six months of the vacancy, a presentation from the king comes in due time, which does rather increase than diminish the animosities in the parish. Neither were the presbyteries all of one mind on the subject. In that state the whole is referred to the General Assembly. Another incident also happens on a sentence of the Synod of Perth, who, having recalled a probationer's licence, he appeals, and alleges his licence was recalled for no better reason than his accepting a presentation. The case of the West Church has already been before a committee of the Assembly, who have referred it to the Assembly

with an opinion that it should be remitted to the Commission,* which is thought to be the most prudent method, because by delay an expedient may be found to avoid debate. If it please his Majesty, who is patron, to provide the presentee otherwise, in that case parties will agree on a third person to be selected for the West Church. But it is to be observed as to the opinion of the committee that the question of the West Church was carried only by a single vote. The question will be again taken up in the Assembly, though I doubt not but the opinion of the committee will be approved of. On the whole, it requires a very good steersman to manage this Assembly. It happens well that the Earl of Loudoun is commissioner, for I am fully persuaded that no other man in Scotland could have so much influence on the members, and that this Assembly would have miscarried under any other pilot. One instance of the commissioner's influence appeared in 'the choice of a moderator.'"

[After referring to a contest for this office between two reverend gentlemen—Miller and Smith—the latter of whom was preferred through the influence of Lord Loudoun, Mr Miller's views not agreeing with those of the Government on the question of Patronage, the letter proceeds :—]

"It may be and is reckoned by many that it is a matter of no consequence though the General Assembly should come into some arguments and resolutions that might be hurtful to themselves, and not approven by the government. But I am humbly of

* The "Commission" is the standing committee of the General Assembly (or committee of the whole House) which meets quarterly or occasionally during the non-sitting of the Assembly.

opinion it is of great importance to the king's service and the quiet of this country to [*delete*], for whatever error they may fall into, they are the most firm and fast friends to the king's royal family, and were so always, and most seasonably in the latter end of the Queen's reign. And it is no surprise that churchmen desire to enlarge their powers. It is far from being peculiar to them. It has been the way of all churchmen in all ages."

Towards the end of this year, Lord Stair's brother-in-law, the Earl of Loudoun, who had been Commissioner to the General Assembly, died. In answer to a letter he had written to the Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, recommending the young Lord Loudoun to the Government, and to have their support for him with reference to the vacancy caused by his father's death in the sixteen Scotch representative peers, Stair received this letter from the Duke :—

"NEWCASTLE-HOUSE, *Nov.* 30, 1731.

"I had the honour of your lordship's letter, and am extremely concerned for the loss of poor Lord Loudoun, for whom I had the justest value and friendship. Your lordship may be assured that upon his account, as well as your own, I shall be always ready to do the present lord any service that is in my power. I have acquainted the king with your lordship's letter, and recommended him to his Majesty's favour and protection. The king ordered me to assure you that he had a very good opinion of him. The present vacancy in the House of Lords I believe his Majesty wishes may be supplied by the Earl of

Crawford, his Majesty having for some time intended to promote his interest when a vacancy happened. I have the queen's commands to return your lordship her Majesty's thanks for your letter, and to let you know that she will be very glad of an opportunity of serving the present Lord Loudoun. Indeed, I think everybody well disposed to him. I am very obliged to you for your kind expressions to me; I shall endeavour to deserve the continuance of your friendship and good opinion, being, &c.,

"HOLLES NEWCASTLE."

The following extracts from letters sent to Lord Stair when in London from his Scotch bailiffs or land-stewards, afford some hints as to the domestic economy of his estates, which may possess more attraction for members of the Highland and Agricultural Society than for the general reader :—

David Baillie to the Earl of Stair.

"NEWLISTON, *Jan.* 9, 1731.

"All the earth at Lindsay's Craigs is led out, and the dung on the east side of Shieldfaulds laid on; all the stones that was in the quarry are ca'ed [driven], and the dyke of the great bastion finished. I have sown the pease on the wheat stubble at Carnilaw, under furrow, and have taken every stone off the ground, which I put in another drain made there to drain a well your lordship would notice in the middle of the field. The lime craig is tirred,* and we begin

* To *tir* a quarry is to remove earth from the upper ground, so as to lay open more rock for working.

this day to take up the limestone. The kiln has burnt very well with the fire I put on the top of it. Peter Bishop goes on Monday with the fruit-trees and flowering shrubs to Galloway."

The Same to the Same.

"NEWLISTON, *March* 9, 1731.

"I received your lordship's of the 27th February last Friday, and would have returned answer by the Saturday's post, but it was so late before we had done sowing our oats and pease, that I had not time to send my letter to Edinburgh. I understood very well what your lordship meant about drilling the sainfoin with the oats without clover, and have left a ridge on purpose for it. What I thought was, that the sainfoin would do better with the clover than by itself, because the clover will certainly kill the weeds. But the experiment will satisfy that. . . . I shall observe what your lordship writes about the waggon and other carriages. I wish we had a waggon for our grain carrying, for it's a great work to send it to Edinburgh. I have covered nine ridges to the westward of Milrigg with earth from the low headrigg, and with new burnt lime and ashes. I shall cover over the headrigg in the manner your lordship orders, which will be as good as any dung. . . . The lime-kilns are burning very well, and I have two clay-kilns at West Farm burning in great perfection. I have caused cast several large ditches on the piece of bog-ground in Chesterlaw park where the clay-kilns were, and the earth that is cast out of those ditches burns exceedingly well. . . ."

Robert Ainslie to the Earl of Stair.

"CULHORN, *Feb.* 1, 1731.

"Enclosed is two swatches [specimens] of cloth; the one is your own manufactory, the other is a piece of the cloth from Carlisle that the frocks were made of last year.* Your lordship will see a vast difference in the goodness, and notwithstanding some extraordinary expenses in making so small a quantity it will be cheaper (and yet better) than what used to be bought, which I am told cost five shillings the yard, 5 quarters wide; and you will see by the enclosed estimate of the price of what is finished, that it does not amount to two shillings a yard at three-quarters wide. There are other five pieces ready for dressing, and as much wool as will make six pieces more. I hope your lordship will find your account in that affair. . . . I took the opportunity of the dry weather and got a good deal of the wet grounds ploughed, and if the snow fall out at this time, I hope we may yet have a good spring and seed time. I wish the grass-seeds may come in time to sow with the oats. If this weather continue I shall employ the carts and wains in taking out more of that sea-clay and rubbish from the castle. There are ten men making drains and casting up earth for burning. . . . Charles M'Call has got two cart-loads of alders and sauchs [willows] from Castle Kennedy for planting here. . . ."

* Lord Stair had set on foot a wool-mill to make cloth from the fleeces of his Galloway sheep.

Alexander Ross to the Earl of Stair.

"BALKAILL, *March* 24, 1731.*

"I am afraid I shall not get queys to buy in this country proper for my Lord Halifax to breed on, for I reckon he would incline to have them of a larger size than the ordinary breed of the country; but I shall see to buy what Dunraggit or any of the rest of the gentlemen of the country that has a large breed of cattle can sell. Seeing your lordship has appointed Garicklerie and the Inch Park for the dragoons,† I reckon your lordship has as many breeding cows and queys already as there can be keeping for, there being eighty of that kind in the parks. I shall this week draw out fifty of the best of the muir stots for Lord Halifax, and put them into the Glenhoull Park, where they will be very well. But I would be glad to know if your lordship will allow them to stay there after the grass is to be cleared for the dragoon horses, or where you will think properest they should be put after that. I dare say if your lordship and my Lord Halifax can agree about disposing of your lordship's cattle that there will be more money made of them that way than in any other shape. . . ."

Robert Ainslie to the Earl of Stair.

"CULHORN, *April* 19, 1731.

". . . The bank of Drumuckloch is cleaned,

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiv. Balkaill is near Castle Kennedy, as is also Dunraggit, the property of Admiral Sir John Dalrymple Hay, Bart.

† Lord Stair's regiment of Enniskillens, which was quartered there in winter.

and there is a great deal of fine oaks in it which did not appear till the rubbish was off. If the country people would but let them grow, it would soon be a fine bank. The dyke is building on the brae-head. Your lordship will wonder there are no people begun to the castle last week, as I wrote, but the reason is there will none consent to work under sevenpence (sterling) per day. William Mein has indeed about twenty at the avenues which he gives that wage to. I have been speaking to him just now that he and Macreadie should join company and get what hands they can to the castle, which he is content to do. The avenues will be done to-morrow night. I would gladly have that made a road that the people may not trespass on the grounds. I have received (by ship) fifty-five ton of timber, for which I have given my bill payable in three months. . . . The drains in the meadow wanted deepening, and some new ones made, which is done. This is a bad spring for the sain-foin, which is now beginning to appear. The trees at Castle Kennedy are in danger from the frost, but in particular the flowering shrubs and yews. You may believe, as I have now all your orders, I shall do what I can to get them executed; but plenty has had bad effect amongst the labourers, for they want great wages and care not whether they work or not."

Alexander Ross to the Earl of Stair.

"Balkaill, *April* 27, 1731.

"I had the honour of your lordship's of the 6th, and have got the forty queys bought for the Earl of

Halifax, and I will be obliged to take them off the people's hands from whom I have bought them about the 10th or 15th of May, and I shall put them up to the Muir of Culurpaty till such time as your lordship orders them, with the fifty stots, to be sent up to England; and your lordship may put the value of the grass upon them for what time they will be upon the ground. I have also bought about twenty of a better kind for your lordship's parks for breeding. . . . I own it is the surest way of dealing in cattle to breed, and the most profitable, but they will take a great quantity of fodder to maintain the quantity your lordship proposes in winter; for unless the cows be well fed, in winter especially, they will only bring a calf once in two years, whereas if well fed the greatest part of them will have a calf every year. I do not doubt but your lordship may be able to keep the quantity you propose and one troop of the dragoons in winter; but when the dragoons and the herds [herdsmen] have their forage mixed, without every one knowing what properly belongs to themselves, the forage must be wasted and no justice done to the cattle either. And indeed none of our herds can be trusted with so great a quantity of forage as that quantity of cows would need, unless one could see them every day, which, when the cows are divided in all the grounds in winter, it is not in my power to do. . . . I shall put the cows that are in Garicklerie over to Balker; but I am afraid it will be troublesome to keep the dragoon horses in these parks, for they do not value the dykes much, and if they break over they will ruin all the tenants' corns. . . . I wish

your lordship all health and happiness, and soon and safe to Galloway."

The spring of 1732 again saw Lord Stair in London. In February he received the following letter (as the event proved, of melancholy interest) from Lord Binning, eldest son of the Earl of Haddington, who had gone to Naples for his health, accompanied by his wife Lady Binning (younger daughter of George Baillie of Jerviswood and Lady Grizel Baillie), by her sister, Lady Murray of Stanhope, and by Mr Baillie and Lady Grizel :—

"Naples, *February* 26, 1732.

"My dear Lord,—I intended to have writ to you by this very post to have grumbled at you for not writing when I had the pleasure yesterday to receive yours of the 17th January. Except in a letter where Lady M. Howard mentioned you lately, it is an age since I had heard of you. I know your laziness too well to fancy you forget your friends if you don't write to them, and know you are incapable of that, but it is a great pleasure to hear from yourself that you are well. You may believe all of us were most extremely concerned and struck with the unexpected death of poor Lord Loudoun, who had too many good and agreeable qualities not to be regretted by all who knew him. I pity his family and wish those may choose, who have it in their power, to show that their regard for him when alive was sincere by serving those that belonged to him, now that he is gone himself. I was always of opinion that sincere friendship went further than the grave. I will trouble you no more on so disagreeable a subject, but tell you

that I hope your friends here are in a better way than some time ago. I had indeed a most tiresome journey hither, quite sunk and wore out, and had hardly spirits enough left to walk up-stairs when I came into the cursed dirty inns. I revived a little for the week I was at Rome, indulging my building inclinations; but it was false fire, for I was just where I was when I set out for this place. I went on here in a very stupid manner, went to take the air if I was desired, but would hardly have been at the trouble to rise out of my chair if I had seen the house on fire. Our ladies, who you know are indefatigable in the search of the hidden mysteries of physic, found out a famous physician here who cured people after they were dead; and so they conceived great hopes he would do wonders with me who was only *not alive;** and he prescribed for me a course of antimony which confines me to the house for forty days. I have been under it now almost thirty of the forty, and must own that I am sensibly better since I begun it, which was more than I expected, having no faith in doctors; but Lady Binning judged it at first so good a thing that she spoke about herself, and he ordered her the same, and accordingly we sit by the only fireside in the house as comfortably as can be, which is a very good prospect for us both in case we should ever have occasion to enter into a course of another kind. I can't say that she has got so good a red in her cheek by it as I have, though she is rather better than she was. But it is really inconceivable how handsome I am grown; notwith-

* *Not dead* or *just alive* is what Lord Binning probably intended to write.

standing of my being still very lean I have a lustre in my looks that makes me sensible of the happiness of being confined to the house, for had I the liberty of going abroad where I could get near clear water, I should run the risk of Narcissus' fate. . . . In short, I am for the present much better than I have been since I was at Spa, and I am always glad to possess a little good health when I can get it. My doctor says I shall be mighty well, and I am very glad to believe him, but I don't think very much on distant schemes. Mr Baillie is in the main very well, but very deaf; now and then has had fits, but I hope the moving about in good weather will do him good. We have had much rain this season here and some few cold days, but, betwixt hands, days that in a certain country of the world which shall be nameless we would rejoice in, in June. I know there are two or three female patriots in this family that would murder me for thinking Naples nearer the sun than ——; but I am spoilt by my travels.

"Lady Grizel, Lady Murray, and Grizzy [Lord Binning's daughter] are very well. I believe we shall all be very glad when we go home again for as much sun as shines here. I hope I shall be able to have more amusement in going back than I had in coming.

"I am very glad to see that there is a prospect of affairs being composed after all the disquiets that have been of late, and I hope those who complained will be satisfied when they have got what they say they wanted. . . .

"So much for politics. I dare say you are convinced the air of Italy has made me very deep in that

science; and I don't deny that breathing the same air with Cardinal Coscia inspired me with one sentiment,—that I think a great man should behave in a manner so as either to be loved or hated when the tide goes against him. A poor dog is in a terrible way, for he is despised, which is a thing not to be borne; but anybody with such well-stuffed pockets as his Eminence has meets with the consolation of hearing people wish to see him hanged because of his having had more ingenuity than others. I have longed earnestly to see him, but alas! he does not go to church, which is the only place I can see sights in. We had some letters of recommendation to some of the best people here; but when we came to understand the ceremonials that must have been, and the eternal misery we would have suffered, we wisely sunk all our letters, and have hardly any acquaintances but a few of our country people, some of them merchants who are settled here, and others itinerant gentlemen for their healths, all indeed very good sort of people, that we are on visiting terms with. Daristante is here settled, and has sung to us several times. Her voice is much better than before she left England, though she seldom sings any. Cuzzoni we saw at Bologna, and heartily glad he will be to get back to dear London. Faustina will be here in May; she is married to the famous Sassone, the best composer in the world, as I am told; but I own I have heard nothing of his making which moves me so much as Rothes's Lament [?] or Montrose's lines. I know I have not a taste for rules in anything; I want to be pleased without knowing why, which he does not do. I have seen

a receipt for making the face of a beauty complete, and another receipt for wit, with so many grains of sense and half an ounce of vivacity, &c., and sweet creatures were both my people when they came out, you may imagine. I have run myself out of breath, for I own I love to talk to you any thing that comes uppermost. Lady Murray said she would write you a postscript, and I must leave her room. I can hardly desire a fine gentleman who goes to Count Hughie's every night to write a letter, but if you can have patience to do it, you will give a great pleasure to an affectionate humble servant at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. I rejoice to hear the Duke of Montrose is well. I have had great compassion for him in his late affliction. There are very few people I hate in this world, and but few I heartily love; you are one of the number.—My dear lord, adieu.

"I have had curiosity to read over my letter, and would make an apology to any man on earth but your lordship for the badness of the hand. For heaven's sake, what is become of Crighton * and his *amante sposa*, for I have never heard of him? And what is become of poor Cory? I heard he was resolved to turn hermaphrodite, as Lord Ross said, when he was refused a place at court. The enclosed is for the president's John Dalrymple." †

* Lord Stair's nephew, Lord Crighton, son of the Countess of Dumfries and the Hon. W. Dalrymple.

† Lord Binning died at Naples of consumption in the ensuing year at the age of 36. He was author of several short pieces of poetry, and was otherwise a nobleman of great promise. He is celebrated under the name of *Emilius* in a Scotch song entitled "Lord Binning," of which the first stanza is as follows :—

(*A postscript follows from Lady Murray of Stanhope.*)

"My dear Lord,—Binning has said so much, and left me so little room, I can only thank you for your letter, which gave me great pleasure, though it informed me of nothing new, for whatever character you may have of being inconstant in some cases, I am sure you cannot be so to your friends, and I am vain enough to put myself in that number. I have often and often thought of you, and wished to know more of you than I did, though I have not troubled you with writing. I was sure I could say nothing to entertain you. Where one does not find pleasure themselves, they cannot easily give it to another, and I knew you could always hear from somebody we were alive, which was all I could inform you of. I hope, I think with good ground, we shall come home much better than we left you—and it is but very lately we had reason to think so; but when, God knows, for our schemes are already laid beyond the time we first proposed. But as I am only a passenger, I say nothing, but endeavour to make myself as easy as I can, and try all I can to meet with things to please me, which I am sorry to own I'm not very successful in.

The operas, which are now at an end, were abominable. I could but just bring myself to bear going

> "Some cry up little Hyndy for this thing and for that,
> And others James Dalrymple, though he be somewhat fat;
> But of all the pretty gentlemen of whom the town do tell,
> Emilius, Emilius, he bears away the bell."
> —Chambers' Scottish Songs, ii. 662.

The Earl of Hyndford and Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes (son of Sir David) are the other two persons referred to.

to them now and then. We have music at home every day; I have a master comes in to me, and several musical people of our acquaintance, that are so good as to entertain us as often as we please, so that we have an assembly every night. One thing which was quite new to me, and pleased me much, was an intermezzo of a buffo part after the two first acts of the opera. There is a girl here does it in perfection, has an extreme good voice, sings well, and is very pretty; she is lately married to an Englishman, and they intend to go to England if they can meet with encouragement. I am sure it would please more than all the serious operas in the world—at least for some time, which is all one can say for any thing in England. Daristante, I find, would be infinitely pleased to be with us again, and I do assure you sings vastly better than when she left us, is not so fat, and her voice is in much better order. I hope Lady Mary H. [Howard] is in town; if she is, tell her I had her letter lately, and shall write soon. In the meanwhile, you may inform her how we are, which I know she'll be glad to hear. Was I to stay away much longer, I believe I should entirely give up writing to any body, not from forgetting them (for that can never happen), but having nothing to say, and being void of all spirit to make a letter out of nothing. I wish you all happiness, and am at all times, most sincerely, your obliged friend and humble servant."

In March 1732, Lord Balcarres (son of Earl Colin, the author of the memoirs), at this time major in the Enniskillen Dragoons quartered at Stranraer, writes to his colonel as follows :—

The Earl of Balcarres to the Earl of Stair.*

"STRANRAER, *March* 14, 1732.

"MY DEAR LORD, — I would have writ to your lordship upon my coming here, but delayed it till I could inform you of everything I have seen here. Your lordship's troops I have had out several times, and they do their business very well, and the horses are in a thriving way. . . . The troops are very well lodged at Innermesson. It will make a very good barrack, and a very proper place for it. I have been at Castle Kennedy, which looks charmingly. The new work that is done since the summer that I was there has a wonderful pretty effect, particularly from the Castle Hill. So has the basin, now that it is formed, and the walk made round. Though it has been a troublesome piece of work, it is richly worth it, for nothing can be more beautiful. Thomas M'Cali [the gardener] has been unwell, but is a good deal better. He says, as he sees his plants begin to spring, it sets him right again; and this is as fine a season, I believe, as ever was seen. There are horse-chestnuts fully blown. I have been through the farm with Mr Ainslie and Daniel. . . . I have been several hours in the factory since I came here, and am quite convinced it will be a very profitable thing for your lordship, and a great good done to the country of putting them in a way to manufacture their own wool. They tell me they sent your lordship patterns of what is made already, with the esti-

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiv. Alexander, fourth Earl of Balcarres, son of Earl Colin by Lady Margaret Campbell, eldest daughter of the Earl of Loudoun, was nephew to the Countess of Stair.

mate of it, so I shall not trouble you with it again; only I have examined into every particular of it, and find they are all reasonable. I compared what is already dyed with what is come here from Carlisle for the men's breeches, and, in my opinion, what is made here is vastly preferable. All the fault I found to it is, I think it is a little too thick; but the workmen tell me they will answer for it that it does not cut, which is the only danger. . . . They tell me there is not such a thing as a stone of wool to be had in the country. If this succeeds, and I can see no reason why it should not, the thing may be carried further, for the workmen say they will engage to make as good cloth as any troops in the service wear, at a much easier rate than what your lordship pays for it. They are trying now for the lead mine at Bettker, and the man says he has great hopes of the thing, and that the affair is certain to be attended with very little or no expense. I leave this to-morrow, and shall acquaint your lordship, after I have been through the regiment, how everything is. This is the first quarter I have been out. Since I came here I have looked through all the store, and such things as I found spoiling, ordered them to be helped, and had them all put in the Castle. Lady Betty * and Mr M'Dowall have their humble service to you."

* Lady Elizabeth Crighton Dalrymple, eldest daughter of the Hon. W. Dalrymple and the Countess of Dumfries, was married to John Macdowall of Freugh.

CHAPTER XIX.

Preparations for a general election — Lord Islay's management in Scotland—Lord Stair deprived of his office of Admiral of Scotland, and afterwards of his regiment—Letters of members of the opposition — Of Lords Halifax and Cathcart — Of the Earl of Chesterfield—Of Erskine of Grange and Lord Stair—Bill excluding Scottish judges from parliament—Complaints as to the Government nomination list of the 16 representative Scotch peers—French letter addressed by Stair to Queen Caroline.

In the year 1733 the existing parliament was near its end, and a general election was expected in the ensuing spring. Great efforts were making on the side both of the government and of the opposition. Government influence, direct and indirect, was unsparingly used. Opponents who had places were turned out. Letters were opened at the post-office. On the other side, all the local influence that peers and country gentlemen could command was brought to bear in the counties and burghs. Walpole's Excise scheme, which was this year brought before parliament, although containing many valuable regulations afterwards adopted, was made a handle of to excite the constituencies against him.

Lord Islay's management in Scotland, carried on under the direction of Sir Robert Walpole upon strict partisan principles, was becoming unpopular even with a large section of the Whig party. The

principal Scotch peers declared themselves against Islay's alleged interference with the freedom of elections, and especially against the system adopted since Walpole's accession to power of a nomination list by Government (at the time of a general election) of the sixteen representative peers.

Lord Stair took a prominent part in the counsels and proceedings of the opposition; and considering the views upon which the Government acted, it is not surprising that in April he received from the Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary of State, an intimation that the king had no farther occasion for his services in the office held by him of Vice-Admiral for Scotland. The Earl of Chesterfield was about the same time deprived of his white staff as lord Steward.

With men of the stamp of Chesterfield and Stair, such steps gave additional verve to their opposition. The activity of Lord Stair in opposition is apparent from his increased correspondence by letters :—

The Duke of Montrose to the Earl of Stair.

"CLEY, *September* 15, 1733.

"I received the honour of your letter of 7th August from Newliston, on Sunday se'ennight. It was brought hither with some others by a servant of Earl Sunderland's, these letters having been sent from Scotland by Mr Spence; and a few days after I received others, with a long letter from Lord Grange, by express from Newark. I was glad to hear from your lordship that affairs in Scotland had a better aspect than could well have been expected, considering the disadvantages of power and money on the other

side. I am heartily sorry that the condition of my health did not allow me to go into Scotland. . . .*

"Your lordship will easily believe that I am very sensible how necessary it is for the support of the cause of liberty, that matters not only with regard to the election of peers but of commoners be rightly concerted, in order to which we ought to endeavour to accommodate one another as much as possible, with a view to the general concern. I was extremely glad to hear that Lord Grange had given up with Lord Islay, and was to act in conjunction with us. . . ."

The Duke of Queensberry to the Earl of Stair.†

"London, *Oct.* 23, 1733.

"My Lord, I am but just returned within these few days from abroad, and have been informed there is soon to be a general meeting of the Scotch peers, which I am very glad of, because I hope it may be instrumental in defeating all underhand game that may be attempted against us. It is very unlucky for me that I have been so long abroad; for though I wish myself at Edinburgh upon this occasion, yet I cannot, without great inconvenience, go down at this time, having business of consequence to me to do here, which I was obliged to leave unsettled when I went to Holland. But notwithstanding all that, if your lordship and the rest of our friends think there is a necessity for it, I will certainly lay aside all other

* Stair Papers, vol. xxv.

† Stair Papers, vol. xxv. Charles, third Duke of Queensberry, and his celebrated wife—the friends of Prior, Gay, and Pope—were at this time in declared opposition to the court and the ministry.

considerations to serve the public at so material a juncture as this. I have sent this by express on purpose to receive the commands of your lordship and the rest of the noble lords with whom I have the honour to act in concert, that in case my attendance can be dispensed with till early in the spring, you may suggest to me what letters you would have me write, which I will take particular care shall be delivered safe. I am told Lord Islay is taking great pains, being determined to try the force of money, promises and threats; but men of honour, rank, and capacity, I do not doubt, will despise such attempts to draw them off from their own and their country's interest. The opposition to the present ministry is so obviously necessary for the preservation of our constitution, that I am confident, if those who wish well to our measures will but confer together, in case there are any among them whom ministerial threats can influence, they will find themselves out of the reach of it, and that they have it absolutely in their power to carry their point, and by that make themselves of more consequence, and upon a foot of being useful to their country. These are such advantages that, if rightly considered, must put it out of the power of the court agents to gain ground, whose only view is to endeavour to prop up a tottering minister, with whom they must fall, and who places his only hopes of security upon being supported long enough to be able to work the destruction of the liberty and constitution of his country. I hope to hear from your lordship by the return of this messenger, who shall wait to bring hither any letters that your lordship or any of our friends have to send; for there is no trust-

ing any thing now by the post, and therefore I really wish some safe regular method could be found out for a correspondence between this place and Edinburgh. If there were gentlemen's houses at proper distances on the road, who might be trusted, it is possible to contrive it that way. I will not trouble your lordship further at present, but wait till I hear from you, which will determine what I have to do."

Lord Drummore to the Earl of Stair.

"ELPHINSTONE, *Oct.* 27, 1733.

"I had the two enclosed from my Lord Marquis of Tweeddale this afternoon, as I expected. He writes me that he hoped he should see your lordship and the Duke [Queensberry] at Edinburgh upon Wednesday or Thursday next. In my return to his lordship, I took the liberty to appoint Thursday at dinner at Mrs Thoms',* from whence you may adjourn to any other place. I humbly thought a special time should be condescended upon, because that best suits your lordship's convenience. We had this evening, about eight, a terrible storm of hail and wind, attended with three very loud claps of thunder, which put our ladies in no small confusion."

Sir Archibald Primrose† to the Earl of Stair.

"ELPHINSTONE, *Nov.* 18, 1733.

"I have the honour of your lordship's, and in obedience to your commands, shall use my utmost endea-

* A tavern or dining-house.

† Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace was married to Lady Mary, sister of the second Earl of Roseberry, and was thus nearly related to the Countess of Stair.

vours to serve Lord Erskine* to represent our shire [Stirling] against the ensuing election. I am hopeful that the Minister shall not prevail with the commoners, and I am in vast expectation the peers will take such measures as frustrate his design of overturning our constitution. I heartily wish they had all such an honest way of thinking as your lordship. I hope to have the honour soon of paying my respects to my lady and your lordship at Newliston. . . ."

The letters that follow, from Lord Halifax and Lord Cathcart, make a short interlude to Stair's election politics. Colonel Charles Cathcart had succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father in 1732. He did not join the opposition, but continued of the court party.

The Earl of Halifax to the Earl of Stair.

"LONDON, *Nov.* 1, 1733.

"I received a letter the last post from my bailiff, with an account that he had received forty-two beasts the 26th of last month from your drover. He gave him an account of three dying on the road. My servant paid him £8, 15s. He said he could not return with less, for he was longer on the road than he expected. The forty-two came very sound and well. I shall see them very soon, and will send you word how I like them. I have seen Lord Cathcart, but have had very little discourse with him. Cattle both fat and lean, never sold worse than they do. The Galloways I had last year were sold for less

* Son of John, Earl of Mar.

than they cost me lean, reckoning the driving. Corn sells a little better, and is like to do so."

Lord Cathcart to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *Nov.* 1, 1733.

"My dear Lord, — Having the opportunity of Lord Grange's going down, I will give your lordship the account of myself since I came into England. When I was presented to his Majesty, my reception was civil, but it had not overmuch of the gracious in it. The queen and the rest of the royal family were extremely gracious. I soon learned that ill offices had been done me with his Majesty. I had been represented as one of those who were in concert with Earl Aberdeen, the Duke of Athole, and others, in November last, to oppose the king's views at the next election of peers. Lord Harrington told me that the king was pleased to read over my letter to his lordship, in which I assured him I had meddled in no politics. . . . I thought it was but reasonable to clear up this point to his Majesty myself. Yesterday I had a most favourable opportunity for it. After I had returned thanks for my regiment, and made my report of the state it is in, I assured the king that I never had been in any measures in opposition to his views, and that as I had all the ties of duty and gratitude to him, my greatest ambition had been to behave myself so as to please him; that my dependence was upon him alone; and I begged leave to assure him that I would be the last of his subjects to do anything that might be disobliging to him. He spoke warmly against your lordship for your manner of dealing, and

at a time when he had resolved to give you a Government. Much more he said upon this subject, which shall be communicated to your lordship at meeting.* I assured him that as I knew nothing of the part you was to act, I was under the deepest concern that your lordship had fallen under his Majesty's displeasure. He declared he would have a regard for such of your lordship's relatives as should behave themselves well. He spoke with much regard of Loudoun and Balcarres. 'And for you,' said he,—'you saw when a regiment of horse fell vacant, I gave it you, as looking upon it to be a better thing than what you had. I know you are a man of honour, and if you continue to behave yourself well to me, I'll take care of you.'† The whole thing passed extremely well; and now that the bad impressions are off, it is not my business to inquire after what is past; I must look forward. I intend to have an audience of her Majesty, and lay before her my pretensions to the Bedchamber. It is thought Paget has already or will soon make a vacancy there. Horace‡ is gone over to settle matters with the Dutch; they say, to try to bring them into a large sea armament; and some say he is to go to Vienna before he returns. The Emperor is mightily blamed here for not securing the king of Sardinia to his interest (which, they say, was easily in

* The sentiments of George II. towards Lord Stair at this time, on account of his engagements with the opposition, seem to have been no secret, as we find Horace Walpole (the younger) writing of him to Baron Gedda in 1733 as one "whose haughty intriguing character has drawn upon him the displeasure of the king."

† It is well known that as regards army appointments George II. took a large responsibility upon himself.

‡ Horatio Walpole, younger brother of Sir Robert.

his power to have done), and for having his places in so bad repair. It looks as if we were resolved to let him suffer a little for his negligence. I hope we will not sit still, however, to see him worried; it may be our own turn next. But for ought I can see, we are to take no part till after the sitting of the new parliament. Sir Robert's court seems to stand better than ever, and his friends are positive the parliament to be chosen will be to his mind. It looks as if he would make sure of Lord Cadogan by giving him Evans's regiment of dragoons; I see my lord courts him for it. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

"London, *Nov.* 15, 1733.

"Being resolved to go to the shire of Ayr as soon as the wedding is over,* to pass the winter at my farm, I would fain borrow one of your lordship's cornets to bear me company. If you will be so good to give Hugh Whitefoord leave to be absent for four or five months, it will do me a sensible pleasure, and the service will not suffer for it, because Brodie, the lieutenant of that troop, is to be with it. The king has declared to-day that the wedding cannot be before the 28th or 29th of this month, and everybody is going to the country. Sir Robert Walpole, the Dukes of Newcastle and Grafton set out for their country seats Sunday next; and I go that day to pass a week with the old Comte at Cliffden. The Prince of Orange took the bark twice last night, and is quite

* The wedding of the Princess Anne, second daughter of George II., who was married in March 1734 to the Prince of Orange.

free of the fever to-day, but is brought very low. He has not been well for this month past. That prince is extremely esteemed here. . . . The people in the city were extremely good to him when he passed through it. The French and Savoyards are doing what they please in Italy. . . . I cannot tell what Horace has done with the Dutch; the town says he has not been well received. None of the vacancies to the army are disposed of yet. It is thought Lord Cadogan is to have Evans' dragoons, and that Warburton will be lieut.-colonel to Lord Mark [Kerr]. In that case, I make no question Lord Primrose will have the majority. The Duke of Argyle has been at great pains to do him good. . . . "

It being understood that the general election would take place in spring, the chiefs of the opposition made a point of assembling in London in winter. Lords Stair and Marchmont, and other Scottish peers, were called upon to meet with Lord Chesterfield and their friends in town :*

* In a paper, dated 1st December 1733, addressed by the Duke of Hamilton, and Lords Tweeddale, Aberdeen, Marchmont and Strathmore to the Dukes of Queensberry, Montrose and Roxburgh, who were thought to be hesitating in their opposition to Walpole, the view of the Scottish opposition peers on the general question of the election of the sixteen representative Scotch peers is thus expressed: "We are of opinion that a nomination of sixteen peers to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain, as representing the peerage of Scotland, by any minister, is contrary both to the letter and spirit of the 22d article of the Treaty of Union, and that such nomination would have a direct tendency to destroy the freedom of Parliament, and in consequence, the rights and liberties of the Island; and that such nomination is highly injurious to the honour and interest of the peers of Scotland, who have an undoubted right to an open and free election."—Marchmont Papers, ii. 4-11.

The Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Stair.

"REDBRAES CASTLE, *Dec.* 8, 1733.

"I expect the stage horses here on Wednesday or Thursday night, and must be going a day or two after. I could not stir till I received your commands, and knew when you thought of setting out. I doubt we can expect no return from London before we go. I send you a pamphlet that is writ with spirit, lest my Lady Stair may not have seen it. It ought to be printed at Edinburgh. I will give my servant here direction concerning the correspondence with Newcastle till a better way be thought of. I must beg to make my compliments to Lady Stair, to Miss Primrose, and to the Captain." *

The Earl of Chesterfield† to the Earl of Stair.

"LONDON, *Dec.* 13, 1733.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received but this morning the honour of your letter of the 1st, the person to whom the great pacquett was directed having been out of town till now. I shall make no other return at present to the kind part you are so good as to take in what concerns me than to refer you to my future conduct and actions for proofs of that zeal and attachment that will always animate me wherever you are interested.

* Captain John Dalrymple, Lord Stair's favourite nephew.

† Stair Papers, vol. xxv. The spelling in this letter is given exactly as in the original. Lord Chesterfield's letters in the Stair collection are carefully written in a fair hand, without any blots or deletion.

"As this letter goes by the post, it will be short; and indeed, if it went by a more secure conveyance, I have so much to say to you that I should neither know where to begin nor where to end. I am glad to find this difficulty will soon be remov'd by your arrival in town. For God's sake hasten it as much as both your publick and private affairs in Scotland will admit of, for besides my particular impatience to see you, I can, without any compliment, assure you that your friends here think nobody's presence and assistance so necessary as your's. The person you mention you will find in the same state of doubt and anxiety you left him in. Les ministres sont furieusement embourbés in their foreign affairs, and farr from being easy in their domestick ones; this session well manag'd will, in my mind, prove a decisive one.

"I am sure I need say nothing to perswade you of the particular esteem and respect with which I am and ever shall be, my dear lord, your most faithfull humble servant, CHESTERFIELD."

The month of January 1734 saw Lord Stair in London for the winter, in a house in Grosvenor Street.* The parliament was about to be dissolved, and the members of the coalition against Walpole were girding themselves for the impending struggle. An Act containing some salutary provisions with reference to Scotch elections was passed at the very close of the session, a clause being introduced into

* A letter in the Appendix shows the rent demanded at this period for the temporary occupation of a furnished house in Grosvenor Street, with coach-house and stable, to have been about £25 a-month.

the Bill, supposed to be levelled at the Hon. James Erskine, Lord Grange, which provided that "no judge of the Court of Session or Justiciary or Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland shall be capable of being elected a member of the House of Commons." *

In February, Grange wrote to a friend of Lord Stair in London :—

"EDINBURGH, *Feb* 25, 1734.†

"SIR,—I have wrote it several times to some of my countrymen who probably would tell you that a fine spirit was rising and spreading in this country, but now flags; and we know not whether it can easily be put up again. The reason of this unhappy turn is that the courtiers write by every post, and we hear nothing at all that is worth mentioning but what we pick up from the courtiers or common newspapers. . . . Allow me to trouble you with the enclosed memorial concerning the clause which I hear is proposed by some Scots members for excluding the Scotch judges from the House of Commons. I thought to have sent copies of it by this occasion to several of our peers and commoners, but must delay it till to-morrow, to go by one then to set out who will be six or seven days on the road. In the mean time, I wish that D. Montrose, M. Tweeddale, E. Stair, and E. Marchmont may read it, and that then it may be put in Mr Dundas's hands.‡ These, and much better things, will no doubt occur to you and

* 7 Geo. II., c. 16, § 4.

† The address of this letter, which is evidently written to a political friend of the writer and Lord Stair, is awanting.

‡ Mr Dundas of Arniston, formerly Lord Advocate, now in opposition to the ministry.

them; I send it only to set their own thoughts to work. What becomes of me is of no importance to others or to the public and common cause; and their making an Act of parliament against me in particular (for it is no other in reality) is as ridiculous as to bring bombs and cannon to batter down a silly cottage. But if there be not good reason for this extraordinary clause, I humbly hope my enemies will not get leave to carry it without opposition."

*The Earl of Stair to Lord Grange.**

"LONDON, *March* 2, 1734.

". . . As to the Election Bill and the clause for excluding the lords of Session, I had never heard one single word of that clause till I heard it had been proposed in the House of Commons, nor have I yet seen the bill itself. Mr Dundas says the clause was sent by the Earl of Islay, and that he could not avoid putting it into the Bill. 'Tis very plain for what reason the clause is proposed, and that we have no reason to be fond of it upon that head, nor for other reasons that you have very well given in your letter. It is certainly a very great disadvantage to Scotland to have none of their representatives knowing in the law but such as are absolutely depending on the minister. There is one circumstance relating to this clause which might prove a favourable one; the Speaker has declared most violently against the clause, but that gentleman of late has showed great complaisance to men in power. I shall speak to our friends to improve this declara-

* This letter is from the Mar Charter-chest.

tion of the Speaker's. There is an objection against *any* number of our judges sitting in parliament—that according to the constitution of the Court of Session there will not be judges enow left to despatch business.

"We have certainly been very much to blame to leave you so much in the dark, as you have been left since the beginning of the session of parliament; we have at last took care to remedy that evil. Our courier is by this time with you, so I shall repeat nothing I said of him in my letter to Drummore. Our Tories seem now disposed to draw together with us, and we are labouring with some of our friends to join with them in matters of elections to oppose the Court. Their doing otherways has been a considerable disadvantage to the common cause. Our friends complain of it in one another, and yet do it themselves. Such inconsequential ways of action are most destructive. The Duke of Bedford is most complained of. I hope we shall be able to convince him of his error, and to prevail with him to mend it. To please the Tories, we shall, I hope, bring all our friends to be for triennial parliaments. There will be addresses in great plenty from many counties, and from most of the boroughs over all England, in favour of such a bill.

"We flatter ourselves that we shall make a good division on Wednesday next on the subject of the Scotch peerage. If we can reduce them to beat us only by the bishops, it would be a lucky circumstance; in all events, we shall have a very strong protest ready, which will read well both in England and in Scotland. I reckon we shall agree in the method of

peers claiming where their rights are controverted, or where the peerages have been dormant. In the next place, we have a bill prepared for making the election of peers by ballot, which is agreeable to the article of the Union; and then we shall propose a resolve pretty much according to the opinion we signed at Edinburgh. *A propos* to that, his Grace of [Queensberry] sets out on Monday, and will bring down with him four of the instruments signed by a good many hands. As to the party in general, God knows there is strength enough to get the better of Sir Robert in the elections, if we can but have the grace to unite and to draw together; and in this very parliament we know of seeds of discontent, especially in the army, capable to blow him up, if we can but bring a few people to show themselves whom we very well know to be perfectly well inclined, but they are afraid and distrust one another. People of sense begin to see how very necessary it is to do something in the parliament to secure our liberty. Sixteen peers plumin' [plumping] for the court is a weight this constitution is not able to bear. As to Scotland, I believe Lord Islay will think the opposition, as it now stands, a heavy one, which may one day or other prove dangerous to the undertaker for Scotland; and therefore, I am persuaded no pains will be spared to make a schism amongst us. The people, I believe, he will be advised to attempt will be Lord T—— and myself. My opinion is, both attempts will be unsuccessful; I can answer for one. They are in great haste to make an end of this parliament; they propose to finish it before the holidays. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

"London, *March* 20, 1734.

". . . On Monday, we had a very strong debate upon a resolution proposed by the Duke of Bedford against a minister's naming sixteen peers, or pretending to influence their election. I seconded the Duke of Bedford, and showed the many inconveniences that might happen to the constitution in all its branches—how dangerous it might be to the property and to the liberty of every subject of this kingdom, if sixteen peers from Scotland should come to sit in the parliament of Great Britain, named by a minister or chosen by undue influence, and painted in strong colours all the things that we had seen done in Scotland last year; or (whatever might happen) we required the putting the resolution proposed, that practices so very dangerous might be discouraged. Lord Islay hardly ever looked up all the while of the debate. The people that spoke on the other side said it was irregular to bring in such a resolution without grounding it upon some fact which had been proved; that without such proof they could not believe that any such thing had been done or would be done, and therefore it was needless to put the question upon the resolution, but proposed the previous question. On that side spoke Lord Hervey, Earl Cholmondeley, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chancellor, Earl Powlet, and, last of all, the Duke of Argyle, complaining of the indignity done to the peers of Scotland by supposing they could be corrupted. On the

other side spoke Earl Chesterfield and Lord Tarbet prodigious well, taking opportunity from an encomium the Duke of Newcastle had made upon the administration to shew the great obligations the nation had to them for the happy situation of our affairs both at home and abroad. Then spoke Earl Winchelsea and Lord Bathurst, and then the previous question was put, 60 to 99.*

"There was another incident happened on Monday which has not been agreeable at St James's. Addresses of congratulation were proposed in both houses on the marriage [of the Princess of Wales], which were agreed to by everybody, and in both houses the Opposition proposed a bill to naturalise the Prince of Orange; Duke of Marlborough proposed it in the House of Lords, and Mr Pulteney in the House of Commons. The fondness that the people expressed everywhere for the Prince of Orange is by no means agreeable. He is to leave London on Tuesday, and it is said the province of Holland has expressed great uneasiness to let him pass through Holland upon this occasion. . . .

"The Court begins to discover great uneasiness upon the chapter of the new elections. Sir Robert finds himself disappointed in the hopes he had of dividing the opposition. They seem now convinced of the folly of their mutual jealousies, and are taking measures to act everywhere in concert against Sir Robert. . . . 'Tis certain our friends are now in great spirits, and the other folks are down. They desire no more of us than to put Scotland out of the

* The previous question was carried.

question. Don't you think we shall be able to do that? We propose all to come down very early, and to take up our headquarters at Edinburgh. If in our different counties we are able to make a good figure in the elections of the Commons, it may encourage our friends the peers that wish us well. I beg you will make my compliments to their Graces of Hamilton and Queensberry. I shall trouble neither of them with a letter, since I have said every thing to you that occurs to me at present. . . ."

The exclusion of the Scotch judges from parliament, on the ground of its interference with their judicial duties, was a measure which no one could find much fault with, although the moving cause of it may have to be sought in the well-known hostility of Lord Grange to Sir Robert Walpole. Not to be baulked of the satisfaction of bearding the ministerial lion in his den, Mr Erskine resigned his offices of a judge of the Court of Session and of Lord Justice Clerk, and at the general election in May stood candidate for the county of Clackmannan, and also for Stirlingshire, for the latter of which counties he was returned. In a letter to Lord Stair (May 30, 1734), in the middle of his election proceedings, he breaks into the following apostrophe: "Most miserable and unhappy patriotism! Its pretended friends tremble at a shadow, and its enemies trample down common-sense, justice, and law! Those who are patriots by themselves or others hurt their own cause and the friends of it, without reason and against reason, in place of being honestly bold; while their foes are impudent, assuming, and

overbearing, treading down all that is good. May they perish who find out a just indignation at this and all oppression of our country!" *

Lord Stair meanwhile was deprived of his regiment of Enniskillens in a very summary manner:†—

The Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Stair.

"WHITEHALL, *April* 17, 1734.

"MY LORD,—I was this morning commanded by the king to acquaint your lordship that he has no further occasion for your services.—I am, &c.,

"HOLLES NEWCASTLE."

Lord Hervey's Memoirs are probably sufficient authority for a saying of the king's upon this occasion —that "he would never let a man keep anything by favour who had endeavoured to keep it by force," alluding to Lord Stair having voted for the bill introduced into the House of Lords by the second Duke of Marlborough, to make commissions of officers in the army be for life. This may be true, but looking to the similar treatment of Lord Cobham and the Duke of Bolton in the previous year, there can be little doubt that Stair being deprived of his regiment was quite as much owing to his general and active opposition to Sir Robert as to this particular vote.

Whether well advised or otherwise, Lord Stair about this time addressed a letter in the following

* Stair Papers, vol. xxv.

† The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham had in like manner, as opponents of the Minister, been deprived of their regiments in the previous year "by an unjustifiable stretch of prerogative."—Earl Stanhope's England, ii. chap. 16.

terms to the queen, which the chamberlain, Lord Grantham, delivered into her hands : *—

"*A sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre.*

"MADAME,—Je suis très affligé par rapport à moi-même d'avoir le malheur de vous déplaire ; je le suis infiniment plus par rapport à votre Majesté. Si j'étois à portée de voir votre Majesté, dans les conjunctures épineuses dans lesquelles nous nous trouvons à l'égard des affaires étrangères je fournissais peutêtre quelques lumières à votre Majesté que lui pourroient être utiles.

"Madame, ma disgrace ne me fait pas oublier les bontés que votre Majesté a eues pour moi. Vous avez beaucoup des sujets qui ont des meilleures têtes ; vous n'en avez point qui ont un cœur plus fidèlement et plus désintéressement attaché à la gloire et au véritable intérêt de votre Majesté et de votre maison." †

(*Signed*) Stair

* The letter is taken from a draft preserved among the Stair Papers, dated Jan. 15, 1734. Lord Hervey, who from his place in the household had the best access to know, is particular in stating that it was presented "as soon as Lord Stair was broke ;" that is, not till after receipt of the Duke of Newcastle's letter of 17th April.

† *Translation.*

"MADAM,—I am much distressed, as regards myself, at being so unfortunate as to displease you ; I am still more so, as regards your Majesty. Were it in my power to see your Majesty in the difficult conjuncture in which we now are in respect to foreign affairs, I might perhaps afford your Majesty some lights which might be useful.

"My disgrace, Madam, does not make me forget the instances of goodness your Majesty has shown to me. You have many subjects who have better heads, you have none who have hearts more faithfully and more disinterestedly attached to the glory and the true interest of your Majesty and your House."

Queen Caroline desired the letter to be carried immediately to Sir Robert Walpole, and shown by him to the king; Lord Hervey, in his Memoirs, remarking that "all the effect it had on his Majesty was making him call Lord Stair a puppy for writing it, and Lord Grantham a fool for bringing it."

CHAPTER XX.

Result of the general election — Proceedings for bringing before parliament the Government nomination of the Scottish representative peers — Letters of Earl Chesterfield, Mr Pulteney, and the Duchess of Marlborough to Lord Stair—Rump-steak or Liberty Club—Letters of Lady Murray of Stanhope—Lord Drummore—Erskine of Grange—Lord Stair and the other peers unsuccessful in their complaint against Lord Islay and the government—The Country party despairing—Letter of the Duke of Montrose.

The result of the general election in May 1734 showed a considerably diminished majority for the ministry, the number of the minority in the House of Commons amounting to nearly 250. The government carried their list of sixteen representative Scottish peers, amongst whom Lord Stair and Lord Marchmont were of course not included. Allegations of undue influence exercised at the peers' election were loudly made, and proceedings threatened in both Houses of Parliament. Lord Chesterfield, Mr Pulteney, and the Duchess of Marlborough were zealous in the cause of their Scotch friends :—

The Earl of Chesterfield to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *June* 15, 1734.

"I received by the express that arrived on Thursday morning the favour of your letter of the 9th.

Lord Carteret, Mr Pulteney, and myself (the only three of your friends and servants now in town) examined the minutes and other papers relating to the election of the sixteen peers, and Lord Carteret has drawn up answers, paragraph by paragraph, to the several queries put by Lord Marchmont and Lord Grange, which, as they go by this courier, I refer you to them. You will find by them that it is impossible for the House of Lords to deny admission to the present sixteen peers, who will come and qualify themselves in the House and take their places there at the same time with the rest of us, and before any petition can be presented or any objection made against their admission. So that your petition, which in my opinion you should present the very first day of the session, is the only ground we can have for entering into that matter. That petition will be referred to a committee of all the lords present, when the first step must regularly be to send for the persons, papers, &c., necessary to support the allegations of the said petition. But so far from being able to hinder the present sixteen peers taking their places, we cannot so much as hinder them from voting in all the preliminary questions relating to the election; and the main question, whether they themselves are duly elected or not, is the only question in which they are obliged to withdraw. This appears from the precedents we have found in the journals upon a like petition in Queen Anne's time.

"All possible proofs should be provided of the corrupt influence used at this election, and if any original letters of Islay's could be produced it would have a great effect. What *vivâ voce* evidence can

be procured ought by all means to be taken care of. The affidavits made or to be made by any peers themselves who either are not able or do not care to come to town should be as circumstantial as possible, and made in the presence of credible witnesses, two at least to each fact, which witnesses must appear themselves at our bar. A thought occurred to Mr Pulteney which Carteret and I approved extremely, and which I believe you will not dislike, if it can be brought to bear. It is, that some member of the House of Commons on the part of Scotland, well armed with facts and proofs, should get up and impeach Islay for his corrupt influencing the freedom of elections, which is without doubt a high crime and misdemeanour. Such a vigorous step in the House of Commons would very properly accompany and extremely support your petition in the House of Lords. For our parts, and particularly my own, I assure you we will fight your petition to the utmost, though our strength and numbers are so considerably lessened, and by the loss of those that we were the least able to spare. However, the world shall see, though probably the majority of the House won't acknowledge, the justice of your cause.* His Royal Highness will, I believe, go on in the same insignificant way you left him in, *et ne sera ni chair ni poisson.* Mr D—— is in as great favour as ever, and plays the same game still, so that I expect no manner of assistance from that quarter. The president [of the council] is frightened out of

* The Earl of Chesterfield was looked upon as "Commander-in-chief of the Scottish Brigade" who took part in the complaint as to the election of the sixteen peers.—Hervey's Memoirs, i. 491.

his little wits but not out of his great salary, which he is determined not to part with as long as he can keep. Dorset is in great agitation, and fears what I both believe and hope will be his lot—that is, being laid aside with only the wardenship of the Cinque Ports. Carteret has talked to him very roundly, but he has neither spirit nor honesty enough to do what he ought.

"While your petition is in agitation in the House of Lords, it seems very necessary that some of you Lords should be here in town, not only to prompt and instruct us in the House, but likewise to stir about and solicit; for solicitations by word of mouth and from the persons concerned are much less easily withstood than remote applications by letter or the bare intervention of friends. I hope you will be of that number, because I really think it will be of very great use: I speak this independently of the particular satisfaction I should have of seeing you here; and which I still flatter myself I shall have, notwithstanding your present resolution of retirement. Do yourself more justice, my dear Lord, than to imagine you was ever intended for an unactive retirement in the north of Scotland; but if that consideration won't prevail with you, think of the use and assistance you are of to your friends, and let them at least have the advantage of your company and advice. This motive has hitherto always prevailed with you above any other; I hope it will not have less force now.

"By a very exact calculation we have made, it appears that there are in this parliament 238 opposers, besides those from your country, which we

reckon eleven; so that the minority, consisting of 249, will not be a contemptible one. Mr Sandys stands for Speaker, which point, though we don't expect to carry, we thought it necessary to push in order to bring all our people to town and to dip them at first. As to foreign affairs, our ministers are determined to keep out of them, at least this year. . . .

"*P.S.*—Your 'Thistle' is a very well writt paper, and need not blush in company with our 'Craftsman.'" *

William Pulteney, Esq., to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *June* 15, 1734.

"My Lord,—As soon as I received them, I sent your lordship's several letters to the Duchess of Marlborough; and Mr Erskine (to whom I send back the messenger that brought them) will give you her answer. I beg leave to acknowledge likewise the honour of yours to me, as it related chiefly to the election of the sixteen peers. I refer your lordship to what is wrote by Lord Chesterfield, Lord Carteret, and myself, in a letter addressed to Lord Marchmont,† and what I have in particular wrote to Mr Erskine. There is no doubt but the right way will be to pick up all the evidence that is possible to be

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi. The first number of the 'Thistle,' a sheet of four pages 4to, containing short essays and paragraphs of news, appeared in Edinburgh 13th February 1734, and was continued weekly till January 14, 1736. It was printed and sold by Mr Cheyne.

† The letter here referred to is no doubt the letter in name of Lord Chesterfield, addressed to the Earl of Marchmont, printed in the Marchmont Papers, ii. 23.

got with regard to the extraordinary practices in the election of the sixteen peers. We can afterwards make use of that which shall be judged strongest and most proper, and reject what shall be found less material; we can also make it subservient to any method of proceeding which shall be thought most eligible. A petition must certainly be lodged in the House of Lords the very first day of the Session, complaining of the undue method of proceeding; and if the evidence of corruption, &c., comes out strong, I am of opinion the undertaker [Earl of Islay] should likewise be impeached in the House of Commons. I hope you are not so riveted to your plough, as you call it, but that, like Quintus Cincinnatus, you can leave it when the service of your country calls upon you. It will certainly be highly necessary that you and the rest of our friends should be in town early in the winter to consult on a scheme for the Session in this particular as well as in some others. Many unforeseen accidents may happen between this time and that to make a consultation of friends of indispensable necessity, either with respect to our domestic or our foreign affairs. For my part, I must own I have terrible apprehensions of what may happen on the Rhine; we are in daily expectation of the news of a battle. Should Prince Eugene be beaten, the French, I am afraid, would grow intolerably insolent, speak out, and manifest their mischievous intentions more than hitherto they have been pleased to do. Must England take up the cudgels when it is too late to do any good, when the expense will be intolerable, and when we have very little hopes of success or of retrieving matters? In this case the balance of Europe will be

in a fine situation, and all by the wise measures of our ministry, who were lately so terribly frightened with the exorbitant power of the House of Austria, and whose treaties have brought about the means of reducing it effectually. Horace, who is returned from the Hague without succeeding in any of his negotiations, has, they say, convinced our court that the right way is to agree with the Dutch in offering jointly our mediation, and desiring to know from both sides what will be yielded or demanded. How the Emperor will take this, who looks upon us as parties concerned that ought before now to have joined him, I cannot say, but it is probable the concessions and the demands will both be constantly varying according to the operations of the war in Italy and on the Rhine; since I take it for granted, a cessation of arms will never be agreed to. Some people are of opinion, and I believe the K—— has said it (if he knows), that the parliament will meet in October, that he may go to Hanover early in the spring. I should fancy it will rather be deferred as long as possible, and that when it does meet we shall be bamboozled with the prospect of peace, but desired to prepare for war, and intrust the crown again with fresh votes of credit.

"Yesterday poor Chavigny's house in the country, which he borrowed for the summer of Lady Denbigh, was burnt to the ground. He escaped very narrowly himself, the roof falling in within two minutes after he had got out of it. A servant of his, that was his confectioner, is burnt, and his cook is much bruised. The house is that which was formerly Sir Thomas Skipwith's, on the Thames; all his papers, and everything he had there, are lost. I did not offer to pay

the messenger that brought me the express, because I had no orders from any of your lordship's [letters] for doing it; but there is still a remain in Mr Morrit's hands for that purpose, which may be made use of when you think proper." *

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, to the Earl of Stair.

"*June* 15, 1734.

"My Lord,—I have received the favour of yours of the 12th of May and of the 9th of June, both together, two days since, for which I give you a great many thanks, and I think you and your friends have done all that could be performed by men. And if the spirit and honour which you have shown has not all the good effects that I could wish, from the fault of the vile behaviour of some and the weakness of others, who value nothing but the present half-crown though to the prejudice of their real estates, yet I think opposition is of great use and necessary against all ministers, except the Duke of Marlborough and the late Lord Godolphin, who, without any partiality, I am sure, never meant any thing but the good and security of England. And though God only knows what will be the end, if I was a man, I am sure I would fight on to the last moment, and try what time and chance may produce. This sounds very courageous in one of my sex, but I certainly have as much resolution to pursue anything that is right as yourself; and I never in all my life had any ambition. I am told that very lately a certain great person, when Sir Robert came and made him a very low bow,

* Stair Papers, vol. xxv.

returned it with a bow backwards, which I believe you may have seen or heard of. I suppose that happened upon some account which he had heard that could not be helped; but there is a certain lady that puts everything in such a light upon Sir Robert's subject, as to make everything appear to have been done for this great and wise man's advantage.

"I am assured that this parliament will begin with a greater opposition than has been known these many years, and it would take a volume to relate to you the monstrous proceedings which the minister has had in all the elections over England where he had power, as well as what hath been done in Scotland. And when these things come to be laid in a proper way before the two houses of Parliament, I can't imagine how it is possible for men that have estates, if they have but common-sense, to go on in voting what must end in the destruction of their country.

"The first question in the parliament, to be sure, will be the choice of the Speaker; and I am in a way of flattering myself that, if the right side don't carry it, they may come so near it as to frighten the minister very much. . . . The great majority there was in the election of Scotch peers, I think, shows that nothing but Sir Robert's power and command of the Treasury could have prevented [*sic*] it. And all that one can hope for now in the House of Lords is, that men who pretend to have honour, and have certainly estates, must be ashamed or afraid, for their own sakes, to support such violence. And as I think that Scotch members of the House of Commons cannot but be sorry to see their country enslaved, I should think many of them, when they come to parliament, though

chose by Sir Robert's power, might make use of it to free themselves from vassalage. I am sure I would do it if I were in their place, for it is an old saying that 'to deceive the deceiver is no sin.'

"I beg you would present my sincere humble service to Lady Stair. I know you will have letters from those that can give you a much better account of every thing than I can do, and therefore I wish you don't think me impertinent to say so much upon this subject. But I know you are so good that you will forgive me, and believe, &c.,

"S. MARLBOROUGH."

"*P.S.*—I received a letter from your lordship when you left England; the paper enclosed in it I destroyed immediately. Pray, don't be angry with me for it, for I think of nothing but dying every day, and I did not care to leave it in the power of anybody."*

In a letter to Lord Marchmont, of the same date, the Duchess complains "that my Lord Balcarres, only a major in the Guards, should be one of the sixteen peers, and your lordship left out, and my Lord Stair, who was a very successful ambassador for the family that now reigns, not to mention his long service in the army, without which successful battles the House of Hanover would never have come into England."†

* Stair Papers, vol. xxv. This letter is in the handwriting of an amanuensis, with the exception of the postscript, which is in the Duchess's own hand. The paper referred to as having been enclosed in Lord Stair's letter would in all probability be a personal bond or receipt for money borrowed from her Grace, any obligation for which, as afterwards appeared by her will, she was desirous Lord Stair should be free of at her decease.

† Marchmont Papers, ii. 30.

A singular mode in which the concert of the opposition peers was maintained, and the spirit of hostility to Walpole kept warm, was the institution of a club called the "Rump-Steak" or "Liberty Club," consisting (without admixture of commoners) of English and Scottish nobility. Of this club Stair was a member, duly attending its dinners, which were held in the King's Arms tavern, Pall Mall. The short minutes of the club have been preserved, commencing as follows :—

"*Tuesday, January* 15, 1734.—The Liberty or Rump-Steak Club met for the first time, and dined at the King's Arms, Pall Mall. There met the Dukes of Bedford, Bolton, Queensberry, Montrose, Marquis Tweeddale, Earls Chesterfield, Marchmont, Stair, and Viscount Cobham. Lord Cobham in the chair; Duke of Bedford named to be in the chair on Tuesday 22d." *

The toasts have not been recorded, though we may conjecture that "Long life to Sir Robert Walpole's Administration" was not one of them.

Lord Stair spent the summer and autumn of this year, as usual, in Scotland, consoled by the occasional letters of his friends, and probably as happy as the prospect of another six years of Sir Robert Walpole would admit of his being :—

Lady Murray of Stanhope to the Earl of Stair.

"Mellerstain, *Sept.* 2, 1734.

"My dear Lord,—John Dalrymple is now with

* Marchmont Papers, ii. 19. The meetings of the club came to an end in the course of the following year.

us, and tells me he is not sure but he may see you soon, or at least send this safe to you, which makes me not able to resist putting you in mind of an old friend that must be so with the greatest warmth of affection as long as she has life; and was it otherways I should be a monster; but what the better are you of it? Yet could I tell you the thoughts of every one of this family, and how often and in what manner you have been talked about, I hope you would not think any of us unworthy of the friendship you have favoured us with, though it never can be of any use to you. I regret extremely the little probability we have of meeting more, but hope in your way to your last battle that you will not pass us by. For my own part, I rejoice much to be here in quiet and rid of them all, and have not the smallest desire of seeing one of their faces more.* And I dare say, did you only consider yourself, you would be of the same opinion; but as you have lived, I cannot but yet hope you will die, in the public service. We see or hear of my uncle [Lord Marchmont] almost every day; he has not been at all well. . . . The fair widow-countess was with us a week, and we had more company at the time besides her, and she also was at Redbraes. I say no more; you are much in her favour, as she declared in many an hour's conversation, and begged I would let you know it. I had a letter from her to-day, in which she tells me Lord Carmichael's resignation occasioned great speculation; and he gives no reasons to his friends for it,

* In this lively feminine epistle may easily be recognised Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's "Mrs Murray," whose reminiscence of her London acquaintance seems to have been anything but agreeable.

but assures them that patriotism is none of his motives, in which I believe him sincere. My uncle sent me a letter from Sir John Bruce, which came by your last express. I shall tell you what he says, though very likely you know it already, or it may be only clatters. The town has it my friend's husband at St James's is out of favour, for it seems he has been giving himself airs with Sir R.; but this I have good reason to believe is not true, for I know he has lately had his salary increased, and seems more in favour than ever. Sir John says the town was long at a stand to know what the P. wanted in a private audience which he had some time ago of the K., and immediately after of the Q. It is believed now he wanted to be married, and a settlement made upon him, and that Lord H.* should be forbid the court. What was agreed upon is unknown; but it is believed whenever they agree in other things this last will easily be granted, by reason of the supposed *démêlé* with the minister. It is said the Duke of Dorset and Lord Wilmington have made an offer of their assistance to the minority, which met with a very cold reception. Whatever is in it, Sir R.'s pamphleteers treat them as they deserve. It is also said Lyttleton has supplanted Dod.† with the prince, though he still keeps up a show with the latter. As to Sir John himself, you may wonder what keeps him at London. I'll tell you a secret which you must keep so yet; he is going to be married to Mrs Western, and meets her at Bath this month for that end. I am sorry for

* Lord Hervey, who was probably the "friend's husband" referred to in the previous passage.

† Bubb Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe.

it; for though it may make him easy in his circumstances, I am sure it cannot in other things, of which he was once as much persuaded as we were. To put an end to it, it is now her own doing, and she will have him; and he persuades himself from her affection he may be happy, which I heartily wish. He deserves a better fate; but it is not such folks as succeed in this world. My father has now and then a return of his fits; everybody else is well—at least, we have not yet had time to consider if we are sick, for our house has never been a moment empty. One visit we had surprised us much—Lord Hopetoun and Lord Hope and my Lady; they were also at Redbraes. Poor Hopetoun looked dreadful silly,* and is the most broken, sunk man I ever saw; he says he is ill, and does not mind to go to London this winter. The young man is become so like his mother in everything, I could not bear him. Your friend in Yorkshire often inquires after you, and so does Mrs Mitchell, who will be with us next summer. Was there but a possible way of coming to you, I know not but we might surprise you one day, if you are not hanged this winter; then, you know, Mrs Mitchell is to follow, so we shall lose our visit. All here send you many sincere, kind compliments. How did you like your picture in Fog?† It was

* In Lady Murray's Doric-Scotch "silly" means weakly in health. The first Lord Hopetoun, who is here referred to, was the reverse of silly, in the usual acceptation of the word. His wife was Lady Henrietta Johnston, only daughter of William, first Marquis of Annandale.

† Fog's Weekly Journal began to be published in London in 1728, and was continued for eight years. In it the government were covertly attacked in short essays and letters, while the members of opposition were held up in highly coloured sketches to the admiration of their countrymen.

drawn in our house; I suppose you know by whom. The man said it was my sister's doing, and not his; he did indeed get many hints he was ignorant of, and was much pleased with his own performance. He expressed a great desire to wait on you, but feared you might think he intruded; I suppose if you meet again you'll be better acquainted. All happiness attend you, which is the constant sincere wish of your most faithful obliged friend.

"*P.S.*—I beg you'll burn my letter, and not toss it about as usual."

Lord Drummore to the Earl of Stair.

"ELPHINSTONE, *Sept.* 5, 1734.

"About the middle of August, M. Tweeddale, E. Marchmont, Mr Erskine, Dundas and I, met and adjusted some things in answer to the letters of our friends at London. After reasoning, we came to agree that it was the better way to lay the Petition as pointing more directly at an Inquiry than a reversal of the election of the peers of the court list. Two things chiefly determined us to be of that opinion: we doubted the evidence would not come out strong enough to carry the overturning their and the establishing your election, which certainly would need direct proofs of facts which, though true, are extremely difficult to be proved, if the oaths of giver and receiver are set aside, which, we were afraid, would be the case. Next, we thought that in an Inquiry the House would not and should not be tied to so strict rules, and therefore might both admit of and perhaps require evi-

dence that they would not admit of in any question that had the face of a cause; and yet we did flatter ourselves that if the House proceeded *de bon cœur* to an inquiry, it would produce the same effect we all wished. . . . I should be sorry to see a meeting [in London] for discussing matters of such consideration without your lordship's presence. The facility and exactitude with which you form and execute schemes (besides the infinite usefulness) animates the meetings with more resolution and firmness than can be obtained when you are absent; and for all the need there is for these things, there is no more of them than is truly necessary. The 20th of this month is the time fixed for the meeting, but it will and must be deferred, if we cannot hope for your lordship's presence, and yet, to say truth, it will even then be late enough. I am very sorry to hear your lordship has been indisposed; if you were at Newliston, and had some business upon your hand, I hope it would not give you leisure to be indisposed. My Lady Stair comes to town to-day, dines with Lady Balcarres, and goes to Newliston in the evening. The President [Sir Hew Dalrymple] is amazingly well, and the Justice-Clerk, who most unseasonably threatened to depart, is a good deal better."

The Hon. James Erskine to the Earl of Stair.

"EDINBURGH, *Oct.* 30, 1734.

". . . I am sorry that my old friend Duncan Forbes still truckles so poorly to the Court that kicks him, and, if they don't tumble, will soon kick him

out.* Your lordship knows that, in opposition to Grant, and in anger at the Duke of Argyle and Earl of Islay, the clans joined him and his brother John. I find Duncan uses all his little arguments with them against the patriots as well as patriotism; but he does not prevail. . . . Your lordship will see in this day's 'Thistle' an account of Lord Milntoun's proceedings against the magistrates and people of Haddington.† It looks like infatuation and madness; so illegal and oppressive practices deserve to be punished. . . ."

The new parliament met in January 1735, and Lord Stair joined his friends in London. In February, the petition of the Scotch peers on the question of the election of the sixteen representative peers by a government list was presented by the Duke of Bedford, and was in the following terms:—

"The humble Petition of James Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Charles Duke of Queensberry and Dover, James Duke of Montrose, Thomas Earl of Dundonald, Alexander Earl of Marchmont, and John Earl of Stair, sheweth—

"That at the last election of sixteen peers to serve in the present parliament for that part of Great Britain called Scotland, the majority of votes was

* Duncan Forbes of Culloden was at this time Lord Advocate, having been appointed to that office on the resignation of Robert Dundas of Arniston in 1725. On the death of Sir Hew Dalrymple, in 1737, he was made Lord President of the Session.

† The paper is signed "A Burgess of Haddington," and relates to proceedings at the recent election for the Haddington burghs.

obtained for the Duke of Buccleugh, &c., who were returned accordingly.

"Your petitioners, however, conceive it their duty to represent to your lordships that several undue methods and illegal practices were used towards carrying on this election, and towards engaging peers to vote for a list of peers to represent the peerage of Scotland, such as are inconsistent with the freedom of parliaments, dishonourable to the peerage, contrary to the design and intention of those laws that direct the election of sixteen peers for Scotland, and such as may prove subversive of our happy constitution; instances and proofs whereof we are able to lay before your lordships in such manner as your lordships shall direct."

The petitioners therefore prayed their lordships "to take this important affair into serious consideration, to allow those instances and proofs to be laid before them, and to do therein as shall seem most proper to maintain the dignity of the peerage and the freedom of the election of the peers for Scotland, and to preserve the constitution and independency of parliaments."

The petition was urged with great ability and vigour by Lord Chesterfield, Lord Stair, and others; but, after various orders and divisions, the petitioners were unable to make out their case against Lord Islay even in point of allegation, and were consequently defeated. The same result followed in the House of Commons. The petitions of the Opposition against the returns of sitting members were also for the most part unsuccessful. Lord Drummore complained to Lord Stair of the non-attendance of

the so-called Patriots, or country party, on important questions :—

"EDINBURGH, *March* 20, 1735.

"I know it is hard to get people assembled even in smaller numbers, but at least nobody should be allowed to complain of being tired with a hitherto fruitless opposition who grudge to give their attendance, without which it is impossible to bring it to bear any fruit. The Court has indeed aides-de-camp and majors of brigade to fly about and collect their scattered troops, but it seems those upon the side of the country have no such officers, and yet they have more to lose if the country does overbalance the ministry's cause. How is it possible to profit of advantage, if due attendance is not given? Our friends had reason to be elated upon their just success in the Wells election, as the others had to be sick of their defeat. The Haddington case* was surely upon that account to come in with advantage; but all that is lost by not having the matter suitably prepared, and not attending. We therefore must be sick of our defeat in our turn, and Sir Robert elate with his (pardon me saying) monstrous success. If drubbings came thick upon his honour it would have a strong effect; but if he wearies people out to the end of a session, he will do just what he likes, and go on leading us in the paths of perdition. . . . I am sure those concerned in the opposition may have been taught by experience how much it concerns them to be united and to conduct their matters with spirit."

* Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes had been unsuccessful in the Haddington burghs, and had presented a petition.

When the strength of parties had been fairly tried, the Opposition, with another parliamentary term before them, under the rule of the irrepressible Sir Robert Walpole, began to lose heart :—

The Duke of Montrose to the Earl of Stair.

"CLEY, *June* 2, 1735.

"I have a fresh instance of goodness in your letter dated 21st and 24th of last month, which came safe to my hands on Thursday last by a servant of my own. You say you can write nothing to make me comprehend distinctly what you conceive yourself but very imperfectly ; but sure, from what your lordship has in so obliging a manner been pleased to tell me, I think I am enabled to form a just idea of our present situation. I thoroughly apprehend and enter into what you write ; when the description is strong and just, that must be the case. In what manner, indeed, order is to be brought out of jumble and confusion is hard to judge. I wish to God that what is possible to be done may be done in time ; I am afraid, indeed, there is little time to deliberate. If the present opportunity is lost, and this season or a good part of it is trifled over, what must be our situation the next ? But it is quite unnecessary for me to enter into this detail. I can only say, and I say it with truth, that from your premises, which are well stated, I heartily agree with your lordship in your conclusions. They must strike every impartial honest man who has the liberty of his country and the real interest of the king and his family at heart, which I as firmly believe to be your lordship's case as I am sure

it is my own. I am glad it has so happened that you are still in London. It is a critical time, and you have an opportunity of talking with friends and giving your opinion; neither could you see things in so strong a light at a distance. And as self-interest works in most cases, had you been gone, I should not have seen things in the light I do, for I don't affect much correspondence; and tho' I can do nothing but throw in my good wishes, still it is some satisfaction to be enabled to point them justly.

"I observe, not without pleasure I own, that in the distribution of favours the Country men have fared as they deserved. May that ever be the case of all such as act such a part as some of them have acted! I can't conclude without making my acknowledgments to your lordship for the concern you express about my health, which is as much changed to the better as I could well expect in two months. My inclinations led me strongly to have gone into Scotland this summer, but I am persuaded I judge right in determining at last to keep quiet here. I find the way to recover my health is by very gentle exercise, and strict regularity both with respect to hours and diet. I see little company here, and I believe for some time so much the better for me. I am willing to be as regular as a clock for some time, in order to have a little more health, if possible, to come and go upon, that I may be able hereafter to enjoy the conversation of my friends. . . ."

CHAPTER XXI.

Lord Stair in the country—Letter to Erskine of Grange—Petition to the Crown in behalf of Captain Porteous—Letters of Sir Hew Dalrymple and Lord Marchmont—Stair's view of public affairs—Note from a lady of fashion.

THE next winter was passed by Lord Stair in the country. In the spring of 1736 he writes to Erskine of Grange :*—

"NEWLISTON, *March* 15, 1736.

"I give you a thousand thanks for your letter of the 22d February. It does not at all surprise me to see that the Country party does not act with that same spirit that moves you ; they don't all act from the same principle, the love of liberty and the good of their country, which makes their counsels disjointed and their operations feeble. Many don't understand, a great many don't think, and the concern of a great many more is for their own particular interest more than for the good of the public. The views of the leaders are likeways, I am afraid, very different, nor is there that confidence in one another which is necessary to give life to the general movements of a party.

* Mar MS. Letters.

". . . I am very glad the Prince is to be married. I wonder we hear nothing of an establishment for his family. It will not be very agreeable to him to be depending upon Sir Robert for the bread his family is to eat. . . .

"I go to-morrow to the shire of Ayr with some men of skill, to take some measures about the working of a very valuable coal I have in that country.* Now that I have nothing to do but to look after my own private affairs, I do imagine I shall make the improvements I have been making at a very considerable expense for twenty-two years past turn out to be of great value to my family, and very helpful to my present subsistence. The difficulty I lay under when I saw you, to find money to carry on my improvements, I have found means to overcome by the help of a generous friend. My dear Grange, God bless you! If you have all the good luck I think you deserve, you will be very happy. My service to Lord Erskine and Lady Fanny. Lady Stair desires me to tell you that you have no warmer friend than she is. Adieu."

Lord Stair's expensive improvements on his landed estates and his speculations in coal-mines and woollen-mills were now seriously affecting his disposable income. Like many other zealous agriculturists before and after him, he was more sanguine of profitable results than the issue warranted. His embarrassment for money was only relieved by a

* This coal-mine (near a place called Drongan Park) proved to be an unprofitable speculation.

considerable loan granted to him on favourable terms by his uncle, Sir Hew Dalrymple, and other family friends.*

The proceedings in the matter of the Porteous Mob, which have been so effectively detailed in Scott's 'Heart of Mid-Lothian,' were the occasion of considerable excitement in London. After the trial of Captain Porteous and his sentence to death by the Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh, interest was made in Scotland to have a petition sent up recommending him to the mercy of the Crown. As to this, the president of the Session† (who, as chief judge in the Civil Court, was not judicially concerned) wrote to Stair (after mentioning a number of letters he had received on the subject);—

"The design of the whole is, that there may be application made to the queen for Captain Porteous by persons of distinction of all sorts, and that I should apply to your lordship to sign a copy of that application.‡ Your lordship will be the best judge

* From a letter of Sir Hew Dalrymple in July of this year, it would seem that twenty-five years' purchase was at that time considered a good price in Scotland for landed property.

† Sir Hew Dalrymple to the Earl of Stair, North Berwick, August 18, 1736.

‡ From the shortness of the time that must have intervened between the signing of the petition here referred to and the date fixed for Porteous's execution, it seems doubtful whether it was ever presented, no mention being made in the State Trials (vol. xvii.) of any other petition than one directly from Porteous himself, addressed to the queen. Whether presented or not, the object of the petition was attained by the reprieve of Captain Porteous, with the well-known result of the prison being forced and himself hanged by the mob. In a letter of Lord Stair to the Earl of Marchmont of 10th December

what is fit for you to do. I do not presume to offer any opinion or request upon that subject, because it did not lie in my way to be particularly apprised in that matter further than public conversation. Certainly the proof is pregnant as to the Captain's having shot and given command; and there are some very pregnant circumstances also proven on his part, not so very well consisting with what is proven against him. Mr Wesbie, who is mentioned in the letters enclosed, is a commissioner of the Customs. He was present at the execution [of Wilson], and is exceedingly positive that the proof of Porteous's shooting a particular man named was a mistake, and that he did perfectly and distinctly see another person near the Captain shoot, and the person fall to the ground, who, in the proof, is proven to have been shot by Porteous; which makes Mr Wesbie to concern himself for a pardon. If you think fit to sign a copy of the petition, you may direct it to Mr Whitefoord, with a discretionary power as to the using of it."

In a letter to Stair in November, Lord Marchmont writes :—

"I had the honour to dine with his Royal Highness [Prince of Wales] at his house in Pall Mall. He remembered and spoke of your lordship with great regard. It is no news to you, and will be

1736, he says: "After all the rout has been made about Porteous's murder, the inquiry about that matter is to fall to the ground, which I think is something more extraordinary than ever was seen in any country, to let such an insult upon a Government go unpunished." —Marchmont Papers, ii. 82.

no surprise to know that we are called Jacobites by some, though I believe few will believe it; but one reason for it was new to me, because I never heard you speak of it, and possibly may be so to you, which is, that you came over from the Duke of Marlborough to make up matters with the Jacobite Tories upon the change of the ministry in Queen Anne's time."

In answer to this letter, Lord Stair gives the account of his mission to the Earl of Oxford at the close of the campaign of 1711, which has been already quoted at the date of the occurrence; and he then, in the same letter, sums up the defence of his political conduct at that time and after:—

"In the late reign possibly I had greater temptations than any man ever had to be a Frenchman; but I will appeal even to Sir Robert, who may be master of all my public letters and most of my private letters, whether I ever swerved one moment from my duty to my king and to my country; whether I did not at all times advise our court to be jealous of France, and to lean strongly against her growing power. In this reign I have held the same conduct. . . . I need say nothing to your lordship in justification of my conduct in domestic affairs. The motives that determined your lordship and me to oppose the measures of the minister were the same. We thought that the minister's prospects to alter the constitution by diminishing the power and independency of parliament and increasing the

power of the crown were equally hurtful and dangerous to all our fellow-subjects and their posterity for ever, and to the true interest of the royal family itself. We had seen King James lose the crown for endeavouring to introduce arbitrary power, and we were apprehensive that attempts of a like nature might be of dangerous consequence to the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover. It is very true that in the opposition we have made to the minister's measures, we have had the assistance of many persons who have been called by the name of Tories; but I am very far from being ashamed to take the assistance of Tories to preserve our constitution; and I defy Sir Robert to say that I joined in the opposition to his measures because he refused to gratify my avarice or my ambition." *

Lord Stair now discontinued for several winters his visits to London, passing most of his time at Newliston, and in autumn betaking himself to Castle Kennedy, accompanied by Lady Stair and her daughter. They sometimes spent a few days in Ayrshire upon their way to or from Castle Kennedy, at the old house of Stair. When at Stair in the course of one of these journeys, he received the following note from Susannah, Countess of Eglintoun, now a widow, to whom, some ten years before, Allan Ramsay had dedicated his "Gentle Shepherd:" †—

* Marchmont Papers, ii. 75.

† Stair Papers, vol. xxv. The Countess Susannah, daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy of Culzean, was a leader in the fashionable society of Scotland in the middle of the eighteenth century.

"Ayr, *Sept.* 21, 1737.

"My Lord,—Colonel Kennedy believes he has some right of dominion over me; that, together with my inclination to see your lordship, will bring me to the Stair to-morrow, if your lordship sends me a horse to ride upon. Could it be of great service to you, my feet should carry me. Being, with unspeakable regard, &c., S. Eglintoune."

CHAPTER XXII.

Political situation and sentiments of the Opposition—The everlasting Minister—Letters of Lords Stair and Marchmont—Of Erskine of Grange, Earl of Chesterfield, Duchess of Marlborough, and Lord Crighton—The Prince of Wales.

In the beginning of 1738 the leading members of the opposition were in a middle state between impatience and despondency, being to a greater or less extent influenced by one or other of these affections of the mind, according to the temper of the individual. The political "situation" of her friends the Patriots is curtly summed up by Lady Murray of Stanhope in one line of a letter to Lord Marchmont,—"I think, as I did, that all your consultations will come to nothing, but Sir Robert outwit you every one." *

Pope's unfinished satirical lines upon the Country party must have been written about this date: †—

"O wretched Britain, jealous now of all,
What god, what mortal shall prevent thy fall?
Turn, turn thine eyes from wicked men in place,
And see what succour from the Patriot race!
Cobham, his own proud dupe, thinks monarchs things
Made just for him, as other fools for kings.
. . . . . .

* February 3, 1738—Marchmont Papers.
† Pope's Works, vol. iii., ed. 1812.

And Chesterfield, who speaks so well and writes,
Whom, saving W., every sharper bites,
Whose wit and —— equally provoke one,
Finds thee at best the butt to crack his joke on.
As for the rest, each winter up they run,
And all are clear that something must be done.
Then urged by Carteret, or by Carteret stopt,
Inflamed by Pulteney, or by Pulteney dropt,
They follow reverently each wondrous wight,
Amazed that one can read, that one can write;—
So geese to gander prone obedience keep,
Hiss if he hiss, and if he slumber, sleep:
Till having done whate'er was fit or fine,
Uttered a speech, and asked their friends to dine,
Each hurries back to his paternal ground,
Content but for five shillings in the pound.
Yearly defeated, yearly hopes they give,
And all agree Sir Robert cannot live.
Rise, rise, great Walpole, fated to appear,
Spite of thyself, a glorious minister!"

On New-year's day we find Lord Stair, unwilling perhaps to expose himself to the satire of Pope, stationary at his own fireside, and writing a long political letter from Newliston to Lord Marchmont, recommending to their party unity of action and cultivation of the Prince of Wales, the hereditary feud of the Georgian era between the sovereign and the heir-apparent being then in full operation. He asks the letter to be shown to the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Cobham, continuing,—"I can tell you nothing new from home; the president [Duncan Forbes] seems to behave himself very fairly as a judge. He certainly is naturally a very honest, uncorrupt man; in public matters he thinks just as we do, that the affairs of the nation at home and abroad are in the

most dangerous disorder, which cannot be remedied while Sir Robert is minister; but with all that, I should not answer but that if he was to be in parliament, he might be led astray to do very wrong things, so inconsistent is mankind often with itself."

Alexander, Earl of Marchmont, to the Earl of Stair.

"EALING, *Feb.* 28, 1738.*

"I got your letter of the 1st January only the 1st of this month. . . . Your reasoning is extremely just, is owned to be so, and what must have had the consequences you write; yet I know not by what fatality nothing has been done hitherto, and I see no great appearance anything will. . . . When in town I see the second part of a scene acted that you and I have seen before, and by the same actors most bunglingly. As to politics, I know little; my bad state of health keeps me much here."

The spring of 1739 witnessed Sir R. Walpole still in power, and Lord Stair still in Scotland. The opposition was becoming more and more embittered against Sir Robert and his "gang," and in the House of Commons had taken the unusual step of a temporary secession from parliament. The complications with Spain, arising out of the complaints of the British merchantmen in the South seas, had come to such a height that war was about to be declared,—a measure which Walpole went into more for the sake of keeping his place than from conviction of its necessity or pro-

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi. The letter of Lord Stair, to which this is an answer, is printed in the Marchmont Papers.

priety. The exaggerated views of the opposition as to the supposed imminent danger to the country and the constitution from the Walpole administration are given without reserve in their letters :—

*The Earl of Stair to the Hon. Mr Erskine of Grange, at Mr Cornfute's house in Cecil Street, London.**

"NEWLISTON, *April* 10, 1739.

"I thank you, my dear friend, for your letter which I received on the 7th by Sir Charles Gilmour's servant. I shall always be for supporting vigorously a measure taken by the society, whatever my opinion might have been as to the taking of that measure.† As to our general situation, I take it to be that by the operations of the gang our constitution is destroyed, and that we are upon the point of becoming a province to a foreign nation; and yet the whole nation is on our side, and only Sir Robert and his gang on the other. In this condition we ought to be guided by a few able men, and they will never be able to do any thing that becomes men, and wise men, if they pretend to please all the weak or timorous men that are of their side. Providence has hitherto, on many occasions, taken care of this nation when we had very dismal prospects of public affairs, but we shall be much to blame if, trusting to Providence, we shall neglect the means of saving ourselves and our country. Providence very seldom delivers persons or a people who do nothing to assist themselves.

* Mar MS. Letters.

† This refers to the secession of the opposition members from attendance at the House of Commons.

I think we have every thing to hope if we assist ourselves; we have every thing to fear if we submit tamely to the gang, expecting miracles or the *chapitre des accidens*. I shall not at this distance pretend to say what might be done, but in my opinion something resolute ought to be done, and done speedily. Since our representatives in the House of Commons have spoke a language very different from the sense of their constituents, will it not be very natural at a proper time to try to make the constituents speak for themselves?

"My service to Mr P[ulteney]. I don't wonder that he and other men of sense take the resolution of looking on for the rest of the campaign; but I shall think P. in the wrong if he does not keep himself *à portée* to serve his country when opportunities may offer. I am very glad Earl Chesterfield's health grows better. My service to Cobham; I am persuaded that he will have the pleasure to see his friend the Duke of A[rgyll] act like a man, and like an honest man. I shall always rejoice to see your master [Prince of Wales] better and better established in the good opinion of the nation, which is now the only security we have left for our liberty, or for the Protestant succession. I hope the time is not far off when his Majesty will see clearly that he has no other enemy in this nation half so much to be feared as Sir Robert and his gang. . . . 'Tis surprising to see how true they have been to their captain. I think that union may be dissolved; it should be dissolved.

"My service to the Duke of Montrose and to Earl Marchmont. I shall send him an answer soon to his excellent letter.—My dear G., I am ever, &c.

"*P.S.*—You may depend upon it that you shall always find me lieutenant, sergeant, corporal or private man, as may happen, to serve my country. My opinions or pretensions shall never clash with folks who can be useful to supporting the common cause."

The Earl of Chesterfield to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *May* 27, 1739.

"I take this opportunity of Mr Erskine's return to Scotland to acknowledge both your letters, and to assure you how sensible I am of every instance of your friendship and remembrance. I should have done this sooner, but that I had neither opportunity to send nor health and spirits to write a letter. I have been so very much out of order all this winter, that I have been forced to pass great part of it at the Bath, and the rest of it, with very little comfort and satisfaction, in town. I am now a good deal better; but I rather consider it as a good interval than as a recovery, which the decay of my constitution gives me no reason to hope for. I am extremely glad to hear, both from yourself and others, that you are so well; may you long continue so.

"I will not go back to what has passed this winter. You will have heard it already from many, and Mr Erskine will inform you fully; but I will only take things where they now are, which is in the utmost uncertainty. We know nothing what Spain will do; and if the ministers know, they keep it an inviolable secret. The time for the execution of one

part of the convention *—that is, the payment of the money—is expired, but nothing declared whether they will pay it or not; yet no preparations are making, and no signs of action appear. In my opinion Spain will grant some little matter in favour of the South Sea Company, and prolong the term of the negotiations till, by the return of their galleons, flotilla, &c., by their new plea of economy at home, and above all by the probable death of the Cardinal † and the succession of a more active minister, they shall be in a condition to talk to us in a more peremptory manner, which will soon be the case; and in the mean time Sir Robert will lay hold of the slightest pretence to do nothing, convinced, as I believe he is, that his own life is not long, and indifferent, as I am sure he is, about what may happen afterwards.

"The Secession, I confess, has not had the effect that I expected, and that the Court feared it would have had. I find people in general do not sufficiently understand it; and yet it was surely the only measure that remained to be taken, and the most likely one to open the eyes of the nation, and to show them that only the forms of the constitution were preserved, but the substance utterly destroyed. As soon as the parliament is prorogued, that matter will be writ up and explained as much as possible,

* The difficulties with Spain as to the English trade with South America had resulted in a Convention, which, although approved of by a majority in parliament, was unsatisfactory in its details and failed to avert the war, which was formally declared against Spain in the end of this year.

† Cardinal Fleury's peace policy in France had been for some time the only obstacle in the way of a renewed alliance between Spain and France.

which is all that can be done; for as to petitions and remonstrances from counties and boroughs, which was once thought of, it would have no effect, or a bad one, since the corrupt influence which the court exercises through the whole nation would procure as many, or even more, counter petitions and counter remonstrances; so that, tho' the real sense of the whole nation is unquestionably on our side, yet it would then appear to be at least divided, if not much against us. In short, such is the power and influence of the court on one side, and the greedyness and corruption of mankind on the other, that the chapter of accidents is all that we have left to hope from. Unexpected events may save us—no probable ones will; however, one must do all one can, and have nothing to reproach one's self with.

"The prince is in right sentiments, and I am persuaded will continue so. He voted, as you know, against the convention, and intended to have spoken against it too, but the nature of the question being different from what he expected and was prepared for—that is, the court having got the start of us, and their question of approbation being moved instead of our question of censure—it was not easy for one who had never spoken before to change on a sudden the whole method of what he was to say, so that it was thought more advisable for him to be silent. Sir Robert's health is in a very precarious situation. His attack was a violent one, and though he is recovered to a certain degree, yet he has great reason to expect returns; which expectations, I am convinced, are so far from making him think of quitting business, as some of us would fain flatter ourselves, that they

have made him resolve to die in his harness, as the safest retreat for him. Adieu, my dear lord; be persuaded that you have not in the world a more faithful and attach'd servant than

"CHESTERFIELD."

The Same to the Same.

"TUNBRIDGE, *July* 22, 1739.

"As this goes by the common post, it is only to acknowledge the receipt of yours with the enclosed paper. The plan is perfectly right, and something of that kind ought to be done, both here and in your part of the kingdom. I have pressed it long, and am told that it shall be tried; but I have known so many things approved of by everybody, and yet put in practice by nobody, that I will only hope but not depend upon it. . . . Mankind is now convinced that neither our land nor sea forces are to be made any other use of than to make the nation feel some of the expense of a war—to make 'em the more willing to accept of a very bad treaty, or it may be the very same convention, at the beginning of next session, when Sir Robert will boast of having sav'd us by a treaty from those terrible dangers with which (in case of a war) we were threatened by France, Spain, Sweden, and the Pretender. His people begin to talk that language already, and say that he is too wise to risk the whole in order to comply with popular fury and prejudice. . . . I have been here three weeks, and am something the better for these waters, which makes me hope for a good deal from the remaining part of my stay here. But what-

ever my fate may be in that particular, if I can do no good, I'll wish that others may; and however useless a friend I may prove to my friends, I will at least be a sincere and a steady one. As among those, nobody deserves my good wishes and attachment more than yourself, be persuaded, my dear lord," &c.

The Hon. James Erskine of Grange to the Earl of Stair.

"EDINBURGH, *Sept.* 6, 1739.

"The enclosed to me from Earl Marchmont will inform your lordship how your own to Mr Pulteney comes to be returned. Lord Erskine met Mr Pulteney accidentally on the road from London, to which Mr Pulteney was returning, and he bid him tell me that he believed the parliament would certainly meet about the 20th November, and that I and all friends, members from Scotland, behoved to be at London two weeks before it meets, because there must be a general concert by *all* what we should do, and especially with respect to going back or not; what foot to put the secession upon—what to demand as to the constitution and the present juncture—what to do if refused, and whether to leave the House again. He should have added—and what to do when we do leave the House again, if that should be resolved on. For our leaving it and doing nothing is certainly the most ridiculous thing that ever men of common sense were guilty of. I have long thought that posterity would despise and curse the patriots for their oddness, as well as the courtiers for their direct roguery; and I doubt the bulk of the nation begins

already to do it. . . . But shall there not be one effort more at concert? I have said perhaps too much on this head in my last, and now I add no more, but that I long as much for your lordship's return as ever I did when young to meet with the woman I loved best.

"*P.S.*—Mr Pulteney said to Lord Erskine he would have wrote to me if he had had time (the want of time was nothing, but that his horses were ready for him to mount), and that he would write from London, from whence he has no sure conveyance. And surely he cannot expect any from this country at London so soon, except they be advertised presently."

"NEWLISTON, *Sept.* 7.

"I can add no new particulars in fact, but that all the courtiers do also believe the parliament is to sit in November, and are to be up timeously. God grant your lordship may be very soon at Newliston. It was needless to return your lordship's own letter to you, and therefore I have left it sealed with my Lady [Stair]."

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, to the Earl of Stair.

"WIMBLEDON, *Aug.* 3, 1739.

"MY LORD,—I have received the favour of yours of the 20th July, with the paper enclosed, which is the manner of settling your estate. It is a great packet, and therefore I don't return it till you let me know whether you would have it again. What you have shown of your services, and the ill returns made to you, everybody knows is true. The honour

you have done me in naming me in your will is very obliging, and more than I deserve, tho' nobody can be more sensible than I am of your great merit; and as long as you live I am sure you will act as you have done for the honour and good of your country. And I agree entirely with all you say upon that head, but am still of the same opinion I was, that the majority of knaves and fools will get the better. However, you will die as you live, a man of great honour; tho' nothing but a miracle, I think, can hinder this nation being ruined one way or other.

"Yesterday I got a victory over some of the rogues of Blenheim in a lawsuit concerning those debts. You was at the trial in the House of Lords when that dishonourable and infamous decree was made against the Duke of Marlborough, after four acts of parliament, to make him pay for what they had given him in so generous a way, with so many fine expressions, as a reward for his services; and I remember very well you acted in that as you have done in every thing else. In this cause I succeeded much to my satisfaction and honour; my Lord Chancellor having decreed, too, with great justice and reason, all I could desire. The determination of this cause will wound two of the greatest rogues that have still suits depending against the trust, and who manage all the cheats of Blenheim; tho' many of my friends have often told me that they would not, in my case, give themselves any trouble what became of the estate settled on the Duke of Marlborough.* And I dare say there are very few

* Charles, second Duke of Marlborough, the Duchess's grandson by her daughter Lady Anne, married to the Earl of Sunderland.

that would have taken any trouble, after such foolish and ungrateful behaviour. But I thought, as I was a trustee, I would take the same pains, as was natural to do if he had been a good man, and treated me as I ought to have been on many occasions. I have nothing more to trouble your lordship with at this time but my humble service to Lady Stair; and am with the greatest value imaginable, &c.

"S. MARLBOROUGH."

William, Lord Crighton, to the Earl of Stair.

"LOUGHBOROUGH, LEICESTERSHIRE,
Sept. 20, 1739.

". . . I hope this shall find you in perfect health at Culhorn. As this letter goes by Cornet Whitefoord, it will be of an old date before it comes to your hand: he is on his way to Ireland on the service of recruiting. We are, they say, at last to be reviewed by General Honeywood. We have had a constant talk of it for these four months. Lord Cadogan* says in his last letter to me that it will happen before the end of the month; but the horses are still at grass, and no order for taking them up. So I wish we are not catch'd napping, like the foolish virgins, with no oil in our lamps. . . .

"I could not write to your lordship so fully in my last of the Prince as I shall do in this. I had three or four very long conversations with him. 'Tis impossible to express how much I was pleased and

* Lord Cadogan was now colonel of the Enniskillen Dragoons, of the colonelcy of which Lord Stair had been deprived in 1733.

surprised with the things he said: he seems to understand perfectly both our home and foreign affairs, and even in our country he is very well informed of everybody's actings. Much he said of your lordship, with the greatest affection and regard. He said he thought in Scotland, as things stand in relation to the peerage, that the folks in the opposition should be at less trouble about the sixteen peers than about the members of the House of Commons. He said he was sorry you did not come up, for he would be extremely glad to see you and talk with you. I said it was not probable, as long as affairs were in the situation they are in at present, that your lordship would go to London; that my grandfather,* by getting the succession of the present royal family settled, had made it more easy for your lordship to serve so long and faithfully the late king and his present Majesty, which at certain times they were sensible of; and that not very long ago that sense had been expressed to yourself and others in the strongest words. I said, I hoped he believed your lordship had done everything for the service of the royal family and the good of the nation, without enriching your own family, as is the fashion of the present times, and that your lordship had now nothing left but the pleasure your own mind afforded for doing what was right, of which he said he was perfectly sensible. . . . The prince expressed his displeasure as much at the usage your lordship has received from the minister as at what he has met with himself in that quarter. . . . The last night, as I was putting Lady Archibald† into the

* The first Earl of Stair.

† Lady Archibald Hamilton, a daughter of the Earl of Abercorn,

coach, he [the prince] thanked me, and said he could not help being in pain about me, and feared I might be cashiered. Of that, I said, I was not much afraid; but if it should happen, I was glad his Royal Highness thought of it in the way he did,—the worst would be going home to my farm, which could entertain me very well, for I should be sorry to be a burden upon any person I both loved and honoured; and so we parted. Pray be so good as burn this letter as soon as you have read it, because I mean that only you should see it. I hope, my dear lord, all your affairs in Galloway go to your mind; one may travel over the world, and see nothing like Castle Kennedy. . . .

"My wife and master [her son] left Newliston with sore hearts; and it was no wonder, considering the goodness and kindness they met with from your lordship, my lady, and Mrs Primrose. I reckon she [Lady Crighton] will set out in October for the Bath, which, I hope, will recover her perfectly. . . ."

was Mistress of the Robes to the Princess of Wales, and governess to George III., who was born in 1738.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The tide of Sir R. Walpole's fortune begins to ebb, and that of Lord Stair and his friends to flow—Letters to Stair of the Earl of Chesterfield, of Lord Crighton, of Lord Drummore, the Duke of Montrose, and the Earl of Shaftesbury.

In the longest lane there is a turning; and with the spring of 1740 came the beginning of the end of the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole. A general election was again at hand, and the opposition were putting every iron in the fire. The Duke of Argyle, himself a host in Scotland, was coming decidedly forward against the minister. Sir Robert's half-hearted preparations for the contest which was commencing with Spain gave anything but satisfaction. This hopeful state of party prospects is referred to in the following letter of Lord Chesterfield :—

The Earl of Chesterfield to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *March* 30, 1740.

". . . I gave your letter to the Duke of Argyle, who seemed pleased with it, and made me strong professions of his value and esteem for you. He both talks and acts well at present, and takes every opportunity that presents itself in the House of Lords

to attack Sir Robert personally and without reserve. I think he will go on in this way, which, I hope, may be of great use to us at the ensuing elections in your part of the kingdom; and therefore I could wish (the more to confirm him in these dispositions) that all our friends in Scotland would show him regard, and lay aside past enmities for the good of the whole. You know his temper well enough to know that he must be soothed and not drove; and I am convinced that, with proper management, he may be brought into all your concerts this summer.

"The plan you sent me of instructions for the members for the next session is pretty much the same that we have agreed upon here, excepting the article of triennial parliaments, which is in general disagreeable to gentlemen, both upon account of the expense and the trouble. Annual ones would be more acceptable; but we cannot hope to obtain them. I send you here enclosed a copy of the general plan of instructions for next year, which we are now giving about to the knights of the shires and others of all our counties; it is only, as you will observe, the general plan, which will be differently worded according to the disposition of the respective counties or boroughs that send them. I think it must have some weight, coming, as I am persuaded it will, from almost every county and borough in England.*

"I don't trouble you with any of the common news

* This letter of Lord Chesterfield may throw some light upon the nature of the representations sent to their members from most of the counties and large towns in Great Britain at the period of the general election in 1741, showing that the public mind and public opinion were directed by able wire-pullers behind the scenes.—See Earl Stanhope's History of England, iii. 213.

here, which Mr Dalrymple will tell you better by word of mouth. When the great expedition [to Carthagena] is to set out, or where, is yet a secret; for my own part I expect little good from it; and indeed I believe that little more is intended by it than to amuse; and it already appears to those who understand military affairs, by the nature and quality of the stores ordered from the Ordnance for that expedition, that no great work can be designed. Adieu."

The letters of Lord Stair's nephew, Lord Crighton, tell their tale of general news and fashionable life in an unvarnished style, but with a sad want of vivacity:—

"London, *Jan.* 15, 1740.

"I have not had the pleasure of hearing from your lordship since I left Scotland. I have been here about a month; my father thought it right for me to come up. I really came without joy, and I shall leave this place without the least regret, which has not always been the case. I presented my memorial to the king, letting his Majesty know the number of years I had served cornet and captain in this regiment. What effect it may have I know not; but 'tis from himself only that I expect preferment—I may say justice. I was once at Sir Robert's, and twice at Lord Harrington's. . . . When I came to town, the old Duchess [Marlborough] was ill of the gout; but I have been twice with her of late, and on Saturday I was three hours with her Grace, where I saw Mr Pulteney and Mr Lyttleton. I have called often for the Duke of Argyle. I never found him, nor met him in any place; but I hear he is very well. I found

the Duke of Queensberry at home one morning, and we had much conversation. Poor Lord Marchmont has been ill, and still keeps the house. I was with his lordship on Friday. I was twice with Lord Chesterfield, and I cannot express how kind and obliging he has been to me; he approves of what I have done. I showed his lordship my memorial before I presented it. I wish it was in my power to make this letter more agreeable and entertaining, but I want materials. I live here very regularly, keep good hours, and never sup. I have dined twice with the Duchess of Leeds and Lord Portmore, who, I think, is in a very bad way. Once I played at cards there with her Grace, Ladies Carteret and North; there was much company. I passed one evening at Lady Hertford's, and played at cards, which I am not very fond of, for we had many folks. Lords Cobham, Bathurst, and Sir William Windham were there, and ladies numberless; the Dukes of Argyle and Norfolk, Ladies Blandford, Suffolk, Dysart, Carteret, and, I believe, twenty more. On Thursday I was with Lord and Lady North, and played at cards; there were many people I did not know. I have dined twice with Lord and Lady Cadogan, and as often with Lord and Lady Cathcart, and once with Lady Mar and Lady Fanny Erskine. This is a journal of most of what I have done since I came here. Everything in the marine regiments was given away before I came, and if they had not it would have been the same thing. There are still seven companies of Guards vacant; but I expect nothing except the king does it himself. This week I set out again for Loughborough. There are to be some regiments

embarked—they say 8000 men; Lord Cathcart is to command them.*

"We are so much afraid of Spain and France that we are afraid to do anything. Our own shadow frights us. If the war would once become general, I should hope to see your lordship here in the proper light, which would give joy to every honest man, and to the nation in general. . . .

"I had three tickets in the lottery; they are all come up, two of them blanks, and one a prize of ten pounds. Their price is very high. On Saturday night the old Duchess gave £15 for one; she has another, and expects the two great prizes; she declares, if she gets them, she's to give them away. . . .

"Lady Fanny Shirley is just come to town, but I have not seen her. There's to be much finery at Norfolk House upon Monday, the prince's birthday. My father is to have new clothes, plain. The Duchess of Bedford is to be very fine; the Duke and she are still at Woburn. I hope to find them there in my way to quarters. I went and saw Lord Tavistock; he is the prettiest and livelyest child I ever saw. The Duchess of Queensberry had a ball at her house on Thursday, but I was not there. The Duke of Buccleugh is much in the country. I have not seen him since I came. I have been several times with Lady Charlotte Scott. The Duchess of Manchester and she are as good friends as ever. I was with them on Sunday, from seven to eleven."

* The expedition despatched to the West Indies to reinforce Admiral Vernon was now preparing. Lord Cathcart was to command the troops, and Sir Chaloner Ogle the fleet.

The Same to the Same.

(EXTRACT.)

"LONDON, *Aug.* 26, 1740.

". . . I have often endeavoured to wait on her Grace of Marlborough, but have never been admitted, which I am sorry for. Twice a-week she has singing and supping parties at her house that last till three o'clock of the morning; the Duchess of Manchester and Lady Carteret are of the party, and Mr Pulteney and Col. Graham. They say now the Ferrol squadron is actually sailed some time ago; they say that Sir John Norris, with his squadron, and Lord Cathcart and Commodore Anson sailed upon Thursday. I wish they may be all well instructed. . . . I hope the farm goes well; the gardens are, I dare say, in great beauty. As I know of nobody going to Scotland, I shall enclose this to my Lady Loudoun, who will take care to send it safe. 'Tis the best chance I have for your receiving this without search. . . ."

While the ministerial majorities in Parliament had been gradually diminishing, the opposition were gaining ground; and the general election next spring was looked forward to by Lord Stair's friends with much interest, though with some doubts as to the result :—

Lord Drummore to the Earl of Stair.

"DRUMMORE, *Sept.* 6, 1740.

"I fancy this shall find your lordship returned to Culhorn, and I hope in good health. . . .

"I mentioned to the Duke of Argyle that it would not be improper to think of some proper thing to be said by the head Courts.* He said he was sorry to observe that measure had not had so general an effect at the Quarter-Sessions in England as he apprehended would be the case as well as several of our friends in England, and said that the greatest caution was to be used in that matter now, especially since strong declarations from this country were so liable to be misconstrued elsewhere, as even rebellion, although as strong or stronger, would be allowed to pass unobserved in the other part of the united kingdom. He hopes the spirit in this part of the kingdom is such as needs not be much forwarded, and though it should not be checked, yet needs not to be forwarded; he having observed that when our spirits rise, it seldom fails to produce something that is extravagant. All this may be true; and yet it may not be amiss to say some things with decency and firmness upon the present subjects in debate, which I should think may be liable to no misconstruction of any weight.

"Duncan [Forbes] is gone north, and though he maintains a great shyness as to meddling in elections at all, he says he will not scruple to declare his opinion, which I assure your lordship is as right as you would wish it as to every article. He has given up his *great* personal friend, thinks him mad, and that he cannot account either for his foreign or domestic conduct; especially as to the fleet, an inquiry into which with spirit he thinks must next session put an end to his reign as a minister.

* The ensuing Michaelmas Courts of the Freeholders and Justices of the Peace in the several counties are here referred to.

"The good weather has given us an opportunity to cut down the bulk of our corns upon the coast, where in general the crop is not good. Towards the hills * they have not yet begun, and the high lands are yet very green. New oats sell at £11, 10s. (Scots) the boll, which is monstrous; the barley, peas, and wheat in proportion. However, it is agreed that the crop in England is good, and the prices begin to fall there, and it is hoped after harvest that they shall do so more. The cattle at Falkirk did not sell well; there were no stranger buyers. So that, what with the dearth of grain and not selling of cattle, I fear we shall be poorly off in this country. The Duke [Argyle] does not leave Scotland till the election of Edinburgh is over."

The Duke of Montrose to the Earl of Stair.

(EXTRACT.)

"BUCHANAN, *Aug.* 19, 1740.†

"Your letter of 21st July was transmitted to me by Duke Hamilton some time ago. I could think of no such sure way of acknowledging the honour of it as by Lord Elphinstone, who, I was sure, I should have the pleasure of seeing here, since he told me he intended it before he went into Galloway, and accordingly this goes by him. Your lordship and I, and every honest man, plainly see the danger we are in, and that an independent part can only save us.

* The Lammermoor hills rise from the flat land of East Lothian.

† The Duke of Montrose died about a year after the date of this letter.

This, above all things, is to be aimed at; and I am far from thinking that we are to fight with the remains of our constitution by our prayers only. If that was the case, we might stand, like the fool, by the river waiting till the waters run out. I believe the only difference betwixt us is in the manner. . . . To this hour the gentlemen in Perthshire have not fixed upon their man, though your lordship knows how strongly that was put upon them, and in a manner that one should think could not fail being agreeable. I hope that won't be the case long. I have stirred as much in that affair as the situation I am in could admit of. Lord Elphinstone will apprise your lordship of facts, for I have talked with him, and have fully informed him of all the steps that have been taken. A good spirit still is kept up there, and I hope will quietly mend."

In the session which closed the existing parliament, the strength of the opposition was intended to be concentrated in a grand attack upon the minister personally in both Houses, which was led by Lord Carteret in the one, and by Mr Sandys in the other House. The motion was to the effect—that an address be presented to his Majesty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and counsels for ever. To carry this motion in either House, a thorough concert between the opposition Whigs and Tories was absolutely requisite. Such a concert was not effected, and the attack consequently failed. Walpole himself repelled with great power of argument the accusations brought against his foreign and domestic policy. Like other unsuccessful insurrec-

tions, this seemed for the moment to add to the dictator's strength :—

The Earl of Chesterfield to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *March* 6, 1741.*

"The only two things that could possibly hinder my writing to you conspired to do it—the want of health and the want of opportunity. Many were coming daily from Scotland, but none going there; and I have been so ill for above two months that till within this fortnight I little expected ever to have writ again. Frequent change of air and ass's milk have at last so far recovered me as to enable me soon to change this climate for a better, and to go abroad in about a month and ramble about till the season of Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa, where I am ordered to drink the waters. But I dwell too long upon myself; I should not have done it to any body who I thought indifferent about me; but as I am persuaded you take some part in my existence, I am persuaded too that you will forgive this tedious account of it.

"Now, then, that I acknowledge and thank you, my dear lord, for your several letters, what shall I say to you further? Nothing, I am sure, that I can have any pleasure in saying or you in hearing. The point to which the opposition has so long naturally tended, and to which your friends in the opposition have been labouring to bring it—I mean the personal attack of Sir Robert—has so fatally miscarried from the knavery of a few, the pride of some, and the folly of many, that instead of having the good effect proposed, and

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi.

naturally to be expected, it has strengthened him and broke the opposition to pieces. We of the opposition, who were determined to act with vigour, had with great difficulty brought into this measure some whom you know, and who of late have had no mind to act at all; and then we made no doubt but that the measure would be supported by all our members; when to our great surprise the affair took the unhappy turn which you have (to be sure) already heard of—people either wanting from weakness, or pretending to want from other motives, proofs of facts too notorious in themselves either to require or even to be enforced by proofs, and that too not to affect the life, liberty, or property of the great criminal, but only to advise his removal from those counsels where it is plain he has been the author and cause of all the mischiefs and measures which we have been lamenting and censuring for so many years. This event, I own, is so astonishing that it almost drives one into superstition and a belief of the superior ascendant of Sir Robert's lucky planet, which has hitherto never failed him in any exigency. We can now only wait till it forsakes him of itself; for means are now impracticable, and indeed the opposition is too much broken and disjointed to make use of any. Those whom you easily guess at, and who have for some time thought that back-stair negotiation was more likely to get 'em into the power for which they long for than honest opposition, rejoice even in their own defeat in this point, thinking that it will, as too surely it does, hurt the coalition of parties which they thought themselves encumbered with, and have been long labouring to destroy.

"This situation of affairs at home, and that of Europe abroad, present a melancholy prospect whichever way one looks: here our constitution is subverted, and all centres in the prerogative of the crown; abroad, the balance of Europe is as effectually destroyed, and France absolutely mistress of all. And all this brought about by the wisdom and integrity of Sir Robert's administration! I have but little hopes, I confess, in the next elections, which, I fear, will by the same means be carried in the same manner as the last; though I think, however, every man ought to do his utmost for his country in this last struggle. I showed your several letters upon that subject to our friends here; but from their distance from the scene of that action, as well as from their despair of success, I could bring nobody to lay down a plan of proceeding in that particular. The Duke of Argyle, who (to do him justice) has acted with very great vigour and spirit this session in the House of Lords, will go, before it is long, to Scotland, in the resolution of doing all he can in the elections, but at the same time much out of humour both at the late event and at the private views, the general lukewarmness, and the weak scruples which have rendered so numerous an opposition so ineffectual. For my own part, not only an ill state of health, which always affects the mind, but likewise a disgust both of people and things, discourages me from giving myself any further trouble, when I am sure I can do no good. Could I serve my friends or my country, I should think it my duty to undergo, and it would be my inclination to undertake, any trouble; but when by all I could do, I could only serve myself, and that at the

expense both of my country and my character, I chuse to turn my thoughts as much as I can from public to private objects, and without pretending to much philosophy, prefer a private life without the suspicion or the reality of guilt to all the lustre of a public one with either. In these quiet sentiments the welfare of my friends holds justly the first place, and in that number I hope I need not now tell you how high you stand. The marks of friendship and confidence you have so long given me require the best returns of the same kind from me; but, even independently of that consideration, the real value and esteem I have for your virtues and every good quality will make me, as long as I live, with the utmost sincerity and zeal," &c.

The Earl of Shaftesbury to the Earl of Stair.

"London, *March* 26, 1741.

". . . An opportunity being now offered me by my Lord Marchmont,* I gladly embrace it, though it be only to assure your lordship that time, which obliterates every thing except virtuous conduct, has not in the least abated my regard for your lordship. The House of Lords is pretty near reduced to the condition that your lordship, when you left London, foretold it would be in. We have indeed made several efforts to regain our credit, yet all these, though we had the assistance of a Field-marshal [Argyle] have proved ineffectual. Our only hope, under God, is in the choice of a good parliament.

* Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, the friend of Pope and Bolingbroke, had succeeded his father the second Earl, upon the death of the latter in February 1740.

The struggle in that part of the island where I generally reside will be a hard one. In Dorsetshire there is little room to doubt of one carrying at least fifteen of the twenty members the county sends. And I find our friends are confident that they shall carry a majority even in Cornwall. 'Tis to be feared things will not be equally prosperous in some of the inland counties, where the Court seem to gain ground. But upon the whole, if the north bears a proportion to the west, the next representatives of the people will not injure them.

"As I have mentioned the declining state of the House of Lords, it would be partiality entirely to pass over in silence the merit of many of the members of that body. Noble principles of liberty have been asserted there, and those too adorned with the beauty of eloquence.* Your friends, though not crowned with success, are yet rewarded with reputation; for if the sentiments of the Roman orator (who, degenerate as this age may be, is even at present a fashionable authority) are at all to take place, the great, nay, the only real honour, is the praise of mankind, founded on services put forward towards the public. Your lordship will be so fully informed of every remarkable transaction by the skilful and understanding hand which will convey you this, that it would be tedious in me to detain you longer than to assure you, &c."

* Lord Chesterfield and Lord Carteret particularly distinguished themselves in the House of Lords' debates of this period.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Decided improvement in the prospects of the Country party—Stair's letters to the Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Chesterfield—Resignation of Sir R. Walpole, and change of ministry—Stair appointed Commander-in-chief and Field-marshal—War in support of the Pragmatic Sanction—Maria Teresa—Lord Stair sent to the Hague to incite the Dutch to take active measures—Letters of Secretary Lord Carteret to Stair—A British army despatched to the continent, to be under his command.

Upon the dissolution of parliament, the general election took place in April and May. Notwithstanding the check the opposition had just received by the failure of the personal attack upon Sir Robert, the result of the elections showed a very near balance of parties; so near as to be fatal to the minister, provided his opponents all pulled together, which they had great difficulty in doing. Thirty members of the forty-five from Scotland were returned in the interest of the Country party. Lord Stair was in the country, combining politics with his rural avocations:—

The Earl of Stair to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

"Newliston, *June* 25, 1741.

"I beg pardon for not having thanked your Grace for the honour of your letter of the 15th

May. I received it some time ago, after I had begun my summer's expedition to take care of my rural affairs. I was then at the Stair on my way to Galloway, but they told me that my staying in that county would be absolutely necessary for carrying the election against my brother-in-law. I did stay, and the election was carried against General Campbell. About the same time, several of our friends from Edinburgh begged of me that I would return to that place. Though I was not of opinion that my going back could be of any great service to the cause of liberty, yet as I am always disposed to give up my own opinion to the desire of my friends, I returned to Edinburgh, where the opinion of by far the greatest number of the peers, our friends, was to have gone in a body to the pretended election, directly to have opposed *congé d'elire*,* to have protested against them, and to have purged ourselves at the same time from any imputation that might lie upon the peers of being influenced by bribery or corruption, desiring other lords to do the like. I say, too, this was the opinion of by far the greatest number; yet as it was the opinion of some very few lords that it was better not to go because it was not safe, and for other reasons which I cannot so very well tell, because I never was able to understand them,—but that there might be no apparent schism amongst us, the majority yielded to the minority, and I was of that opinion. . . .

"So very strong was the spirit of liberty that so much prevailed almost in every corner of this country, that in the elections of the Commons I

* That is, the Earl of Islay and his friends.

believe it has come out that of the forty-five members to sit in parliament on the part of Scotland, thirty have been chosen on the side of the country, without the Patriots ever appearing to act as a party to support their friends acting in the different corners of the country, who had everywhere the Court party to struggle with. . . .

"Your Grace knows better than I can do whether in England the friends of liberty have exerted themselves in the late elections as they ought to have done. I am afraid several elections have been lost that might have been carried on the side of the country, some for one reason, some for another, all bad ones I am afraid. But notwithstanding, as I hear, there is strength enough in this present parliament to preserve our Constitution, if the pretended friends to liberty can be but wise enough to unite and to draw together. I know but one way to bring about so desirable an event, and that is for half-a-dozen wise men of the side of the Whigs to unite with half-a-dozen wise men of the side of the Tories, to concert joint measures for the forming and execution of such a project. I know nobody can be more useful than your new friend Sir John Hynde Cotton. Of him I think very well, both as an honest and able man and a man of great knowledge and experience. I think of him, as your Grace does, that he has too good sense to be a thorough *jure divino* man; he cannot believe that millions of men were born with saddles upon their backs for one man to ride upon. I know but one possible way to save our country sinking under the force of corruption, and that is for wise men of different denominations to agree to

concert and execute measures for the preservation of their country. God knows there is strength enough, if there was but skill and honesty to apply that strength, which can only, in my poor opinion, be done by wise men taking measures together. What we have to expect from chance, experience of the last parliament may convince us, and indeed the history of our times and of all times and countries, where we shall find that whenever anything has been done to purpose, it has been done by men acting together like men, and not like Jews expecting the arrival of the Messiah.

"I shall speak, if your Grace pleases, to some of our drovers to get for you 100 little Highland bullocks; my own cattle and the cattle of my tenants are of another size and of another price. I did not propose to make any advantage of your Grace in the way of trade; on the contrary, I proposed to have picked out 100 cattle for your Grace, and to have sent them directly to Blenheim cheaper than you could possibly buy them from the drovers. . . .

"If Patriots upon this occasion, as they have done upon other occasions, remain idle and indolent till the meeting of parliament, the success of this year will be like the success of former years. For my own part, I am so thoroughly convinced that I can be of no use to my country or to my friends, that I am going this very day to set out to take care of my little affairs as a farmer, where I shall hear very little of politics but what I learn from the newspapers. My country and your Grace shall always have my best wishes. This family has been and continues to be in the deepest affliction for the heavy

and unexpected loss of Lord Primrose.* Lady Stair and I are ever, with the greatest gratitude, your Grace's most faithful servants.

"I cannot finish this letter without condoling with your Grace for the heavy loss that lately has happened by raising the siege of Carthagena. That loss, by management of a different nature, might be repaired; but in my poor opinion, as things are, it is quite irreparable, considering with how much industry our excellent minister has for above twenty years together been corrupting every branch of the nation, and with so much success that I am afraid there is but very little virtue or good understanding left."

The Earl of Stair to ——.†

"NEWLISTON, *June* 27, 1741.

"I think myself and Lady Stair infinitely obliged to your lordship for your very kind letter of 2d June. The loss of Lord Primrose is indeed a very heavy affliction to us both. Lady Stair has lost her only son, whom she very justly loved for having a great deal of merit and a great many amiable qualities, and I have lost my best friend. In my opinion, the death of Lord Cathcart was a very great loss both to the king and the country.‡ . . . Cathcart

* Hugh, third Viscount Primrose, son of the Countess of Stair by her first marriage.

† This letter, of which the address (probably to Lord Chesterfield) is lost, is printed from a draft in Lord Stair's handwriting; as is also the previous letter to the Duchess of Marlborough.—Stair Papers, vol. xxvi.

‡ Charles, eighth Lord Cathcart, died from the effect of climate soon

had indeed too much ambition; but bating that, he had talents and very good qualities. I need not now repeat to your lordship what I wrote very freely to Cathcart himself, that I was very well persuaded his Majesty did heartily and sincerely wish the success of that expedition, both for his own honour and for the honour and good of the nation, but I was very much afraid the minister's intentions were not the same with his master's. If they had been so, Lord Cathcart would not have been put at the head of that expedition; nor would he have been sent single, without engineers, and even in a manner without troops. If the minister had been in earnest, the best men and the best troops of this nation had been employed. I must ask your lordship the very same question I formerly asked Lord Cathcart: Pray what was the critical moment when Sir Robert left off being a partisan of the house of Bourbon, to become a friend to the house of Austria?

"For my own part, I have in no degree changed my opinion either as to the balance of power or as to the houses of Austria and Bourbon. I was always of opinion that it was absolutely necessary for the very being of this nation to support a balance of power in Europe, and that it was the interest of this nation to be on the side of the house of Austria, both because it was the weakest and because it was not our rival in trade, and could not be our rival in point of power at sea.* I need not take pains to prove to your lord-

after his arrival in the West Indies in command of the expedition against Carthagena.

* On the subject of the "balance of power," and the expediency of England interfering in continental wars to preserve it, opinion has

ship that our minister thought differently, nor shall waste your time endeavouring to decipher his conduct. I shall content myself to say it was not the interest of Britain, nor the honour or interest of the house of Hanover, that moved him to act as he did for twenty years together. I have long been of opinion that this nation, and the king and his family, could not be safe but by changing measures; and in order to that, it was absolutely necessary to change the minister in whose power it evidently was to influence all our public operations. . . . Among the many reasons that have ever made me a lover of liberty, there is one which I think should have weight with everybody. I am very sure that beggary will very soon tread upon the heels of slavery. Old as I am, I am very apprehensive, as things are, that I may live to see that cruel event. I am persuaded your lordship will always use your credit and power to prevent it.

"I do most heartily condole with your lordship for the very heavy stroke that has lately happened to this nation by raising the siege of Carthagena. I am of opinion what has happened would not have happened if our affairs had been conducted in a

changed considerably since Lord Stair's time. But even in the reign of George I., the part taken by Great Britain in foreign wars did not escape the pungent satire of Arbuthnot and Swift. In their view of the matter, the future history of England would record "the methods by which John [Bull] endeavoured to preserve peace among his neighbours; how he kept a pair of steelyards to weigh them, and by diet, purging, vomiting, and bleeding, tried to bring them to equal bulk and strength; how John pampered Esquire South [Austria] with titbits till he grew wanton; how he got drunk with Calabrian wine, and longed for Sicilian beef; and how John carried him thither in his barge [Sir G. Byng's fleet]."—Swift's Works, by Scott, vol. vi.

different manner. But as they are to be conducted by the very same hands that formerly have conducted them (very weakly as well as wickedly, as I do apprehend), I fear that the times to come will be like the times past, for I have never seen pear-trees bear apples. . . .

"Lady Stair, who is always your faithful friend, desires me to make her most sincere acknowledgements to your lordship for your kind concern about her at this melancholy occasion. I beg you will make my compliments to Lord Carteret. I have seen with great admiration his lordship's speech in the House of Lords introducing the motion for removing Sir Robert, which in my opinion is one of the finest discourses I ever saw in any language, and to me perfectly concluding. In a very few days I return into Galloway, to take care of my rural affairs, where I shall in no degree meddle with affairs of state, and hear very little of them but what I hear by the prints. The spirit that has prevailed almost all this country over is quite surprising, and I must say deserves to be well conducted; though I am afraid that if our patriots agree no better than they have done formerly, and take no measures to act together, it will be of little use for the nation of Scotland to have chose thirty members in the Country interest out of forty-five, even though the nation of England should think in the same manner. You will forgive me for making use of another hand to transcribe my letter. I am very sensible it would give you more trouble to read my scrawl than the thing is worth."

Upon the meeting of the new parliament in December, it soon appeared, notwithstanding some uncertainty in the divisions in the House of Commons, that Sir Robert's star was rapidly declining. In a letter from Newliston to Hugh Lord Marchmont, Lord Stair writes :—

"I think your going to London quite right, and absolutely necessary at this critical time. I hope you will be able to do a great deal of good there, being, as I know you are, quite disposed to promote concord and unanimity, the only things can possibly save us. If I was to be at London, my great secret would be to have no will of my own, but to follow the common weal implicitly." *

Seeing it was impossible to hold out longer, Sir Robert Walpole resigned at last on the 1st of February 1742; Lord Wilmington being nominally, and Lord Carteret [Foreign Secretary] really, at the head of the new ministry. The Duke of Argyle, who was already a Field-marshal, was made Commander-in-chief of the forces, but resigned this appointment in less than a month; upon which, Lord Stair, now in his 70th year, was appointed Commander-in-chief and Field-marshal. †

He set out for London in the beginning of March :—

* December 24, 1741—Marchmont Papers.

† Frederick II. ("Histoire de mon Temps"), referring to the army arrangements upon the change of ministry in England, says : "Pour les troupes de terre, le Duc d'Argyle et Milord Stair étoient les seuls qui eussent des prétentions fondées à briguer les premiers emplois, quoique ni l'un ni l'autre n'eussent jamais commandé des armées."

Lieut.-Colonel James Gardiner to the Earl of Stair.

" Bankton, *March* 8, 1742.

" I was extremely glad to hear from my Lady Stair that your lordship had got as far as Boroughbridge in safety, and I hope that before this comes to your hands your lordship will have got safe to London, which will be glad news to all your friends in this country; and I hope that when your lordship has got all matters relating to yourself settled to your mind, you will be mindful of your most humble servant; for as I owe everything I have (under God) to your lordship's favour, so I should have a double pleasure to be indebted to the same favour for a regiment. I have reason to believe that I stand very well with his Grace of Argyle, and I think I may depend upon the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Harrington for their interest; but I leave it entirely to your lordship to do in it as you shall see most proper; and shall always remain," * &c.

The war then waging upon the Continent, in which Britain, finally breaking with Spain and also with France, was about to take an active part, was in support of the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, involving the rights of Maria Teresa, Arch-Duchess of Austria and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia. She was married to Francis of Lorraine, brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and her claim, upon the death,

* Gardiner was at this time lieut.-colonel of Lord Cadogan's regiment of Enniskillen Dragoons. In April 1743 he received the full colonelcy of another dragoon regiment, the same he afterwards commanded at Prestonpans in 1745.—Life by Doddridge.

in 1740, of her father the Emperor Charles VI., to the hereditary states of Austria and to the imperial crown of Germany, was disputed by Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, who had been crowned Emperor at Frankfurt; his cause being supported by France, and also (though less zealously) by Frederick II. of Prussia and some of the lesser German princes. The same spirit which had called forth the famous resolution of the Hungarian Diet in favour of their queen was still animating her armies to victory; but without the timely and substantial aid of Britain at this critical juncture, the disciplined troops of France, and the aggrandising policy that dictated the movements of Frederick of Prussia, might have turned the balance against her, and caused a dismemberment of the Austrian states and a transfer to Bavaria of the imperial crown.

It was now determined in the counsels of England that a British army of 16,000 troops of all arms should be sent immediately to Flanders, on their way to the seat of war; to be joined by 16,000 Hanoverians in British pay. The command of this force upon the Continent was given to the Earl of Stair; his commission, superscribed by the king, being in the following terms:—

"George *R.*

"St James's, *April* 21, 1742.

"Whereas we have thought it necessary for the good of our service that the several regiments of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, mentioned in the margin

hereof,* should forthwith proceed to Flanders under the command of Lieut.-General Philip Honeywood; And whereas we have thought proper to put the said troops, on their arrival there, under your command, together with all other British troops which shall be sent on the like service, and also all foreign troops in British pay which shall join or be employed in Flanders with the said troops,—Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you take upon you the command of our said forces accordingly; And you are to obey such orders as you shall from time to time receive from Us."

It will be observed from the last clause of this commission that the king virtually retained to himself the chief command, which, indeed, he personally assumed the next year, previous to and at the battle of Dettingen.

Lord Stair was, about the same time, intrusted with a special mission to treat with the Dutch as ambassador-extraordinary at the Hague, to induce them, if possible, to enter more heartily into the war by providing a contingent of troops in aid of the forces of the Pragmatic Sanction. This he was to press upon them by considerations of the common interests of Great Britain and Holland as Protestant

* These regiments were—

(*Horse.*) Royal regiment of Horse Guards; the King's regiment of Horse; six regiments of Dragoons.

(*Foot.*) Three battalions of Foot Guards; twelve regiments of the Line.

Amongst the dragoon regiments were—the Scots Greys (now commanded by Stair's brother-in-law, Sir James Campbell), and the Enniskillens. The colonelcy of the Enniskillens was, in the following spring, restored to Lord Stair.—Stair Papers, vol. xxvii.

States, and of the danger to the balance of power, should the French succeed in subverting the house of Austria, and of the risk that the barrier fortresses of the Netherlands might fall into the hands of the French.*

While the troops were preparing to embark for Flanders, Stair proceeded on this mission; the Duchess of Marlborough, attentive to the dignity and comfort of her friend, sending to the Hague a quantity of tapestry to be hung on the walls of his reception-room and bed-chamber.† But all his diplomatic skill, backed by the weight both of personal authority and of Lord Carteret's despatches, was insufficient to conquer entirely the *vis inertiæ* and commercial caution of the Dutch. The consideration that weighed most with them was the danger to the Flemish fortresses, which were equally essential as a guard to their own provinces and to the Austrian Netherlands. And accordingly, while they declined furnishing a contingent for active service, Lord Stair prevailed so far as to induce them to send a body of 6000 Dutch troops to garrison the barrier fortresses, and so relieve an equal number of Hessian mercenaries, who would thus be left at liberty to join the allied army. He remained at the Hague till the end of autumn.‡

* See Letter of Credence for the Earl of Stair to the States-General, and accompanying Secret Instructions in Appendix.

† The Duchess died about two years after this, her testament containing a codicil (Aug. 15, 1744), presenting to Lord Stair a sum of £1000 he had borrowed upon bond, and relieving him from all demands for any other sums of money the testatrix might have lent to him. The codicil is quoted in the Appendix to this chapter.

‡ From a letter of Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann (Sept. 11, 1742),

The following extracts from letters of Lord Carteret demonstrate the warlike feeling which actuated the British ministry :—

*John Lord Carteret to the Earl of Stair.**

"*Private, particular.*

"LONDON, *June* 8, 1742.

". . . Our measures here, let the success be what it will, are fixed, as I told you at parting. No French counsel can operate here. We send our forces over as fast as possible to be under your command, and our affairs are brought to a much better consistency than I could have hoped for in so short a time. The parliament will rise early. The reconciliation of the royal family is complete. Lord Cobham has accepted the Horse Grenadiers, with the commission of Field-marshal, as I told you I had in view; Lord Gower will have the privy seal, and Lord Bathurst a proper post. The Duke of Argyle is gone out of town for the summer. If we don't, between this and the next session, so calm matters as to have a reasonable prospect of a good session next winter, we shall deserve to be blamed, considering the promising hopes we have of succeeding abroad. Our measures give satisfaction at home, as all the world now sees that we are no longer to be led by France. . . ."

Lord Stair seems to have made at least one journey to London in the course of his stay in Holland :—"We are in great apprehension of not taking Prague : the only thing that has been taken on our side lately is my Lord Stair's journey hither and back again ; we don't know for what, he is such an Orlando."

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi.

"WHITEHALL, *July* 27, 1742.

". . . We wait impatiently for your answers to my letters, in which I have acquainted you with his Majesty's intentions of bringing 16,000 Hanoverians and 6000 Hessians to join the British and Austrian troops, so as to be in a condition to speak strongly to France for the procuring a solid settlement of affairs in Europe. Contracts are making by the Treasury for bread, and every thing will be furnished to our troops to take the field as soon as we have your answer and Duke Aremberg's.* You will consider how they may be provided with everything, when it shall be thought proper to leave them, that we may not make the figure the French have done in Germany, by wanting every necessary. This measure, tho' absolutely necessary, has been resolved upon here with great difficulty; and I am looked upon by many of my friends and yours as too rash in the share I have had in it, though I don't carry my views so far as your lordship, which may proceed from my ignorance in military affairs. However, here will be a good army formed, independent of the Dutch, which, in my opinion, is the most likely way to gain them. If they do come with us, the work seems not to be excessively difficult. However, we will demonstrate to the whole world that the fault shall not be laid to our door. . . .

"The army promotions are not yet settled, but I hope they will be got over this week. I shall not forget your recommendations."

* The Austrian commander who was to act with Lord Stair in the ensuing campaign.

"*August* 3, 1742.

"When Ligonier returns, your lordship will have full orders about everything military. I shall speak to the king to-morrow about your equipage money. As I told Lord Loudoun, nothing shall be wanting on my part. The heavy artillery will be sent as soon as possible, tho' we can't get ready in time above twenty pieces of the sort, as General Wade told me this morning. They will be sent with the last embarkation, which we hope will be before the end of this month. We have taken up more transports, to make all possible dispatch. We expect to hear the King of Prussia's opinion upon our proceedings, as well as Prince William's, every day, they having been acquainted with his Majesty's resolution.

(Signed) CARTERET."

Having used all the efforts in his power to stir the Dutch to active measures, Lord Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British troops, eager for action, had been left unemployed for two months. He received there, in November, an express from Lord Carteret, calling home, by order of the king, all officers who were members of parliament.* This call was, no doubt, made for the purpose of obtaining additional support in parliament in the debates which in the winter session took place as to the employment of Germans in British pay, and as to the troops having been allowed to remain so long inactive in Flanders.

* Nov. 22, 1742—Stair Papers, vol. xxvii.

CHAPTER XXV.

Object of Britain in taking part in the war—Arrival of Lord Stair with the army in Germany—Position taken up near Frankfort—The army advance up the Mayn to Aschaffenburg—Stair outmanœuvred by the Duc de Noailles—Arrival of George II. at Aschaffenburg—Resolution to retreat to their magazines at Hanau—The march intercepted by the French at Dettingen—The Duc de Grammont leaves his strong position there—Defeat of the French—Conduct of the king and of Lord Stair—Pursuit of the enemy advised by Stair, but disallowed—His recommendations slighted—Courtesy of Stair and Noailles—Letters of Colonel Gardiner, Lord Hertford, and others—Peregrine Pickle's "Lady of Quality."

The main object of England in taking part in the war had been declared by Lord Carteret to be the expulsion of the French from Germany; hostilities being forbidden against the person and dominions of the queen of Hungary's rival, the elector of Bavaria, at present titular emperor of the German Reich. On setting out early in the year for Germany, Lord Stair made a notification of the object of the war to the principal courts. In March the British force was preparing to pass the Rhine, being joined by the Hanoverians in British pay, and by the Duke of Aremberg with some Austrian regiments. At a distance in the rear was a body of auxiliary troops consisting of 6000 Hanoverians in the Electoral service, and

6000 Hessian mercenaries drawn from barrier fortresses now occupied by the Dutch. The arrangements of the commissariat were imperfect, causing considerable delay; and it was not till the 26th of April that the army crossed the Rhine at Neuwied. Stair, as commander-in-chief, took this opportunity to issue a proclamation to allay the apprehensions of the Germans, declaring that the allied army understood discipline and the laws of the Reich, and would pay for every thing; and that they came as saviours and pacificators, hostile only to the enemies and disturbers of the country.*

The army encamped on the 23d of May at Hochst, on the Mayn, near Hanau. The titular emperor was at this time in great straits for subsistence at Frankfort, and Lord Stair had an opportunity of putting in practice his policy of moderation, by declining to take steps (which might easily have been taken) to make him prisoner.

The first intention of the British general appears to have been to await in his position below Hanau, where the most advanced magazines were, the arrival of the 12,000 Hessians and Hanoverians in his rear. This would undoubtedly have been the safer course to pursue before commencing active operations; but preferring a bolder line of proceeding, he took the resolution of moving forward, with the view of co-operating with the queen of Hungary's army under Count Kevenhüller in the country of the Upper Danube, and finding supplies as he could.† The Austrian general disapproved of this plan, so that

* Campagnes de Noailles, tom. i.

† Letter of Kevenhüller in Appendix to this chapter.

the proposal of Lord Stair was hampered by a want of concert with his more cautious colleague.

As it was, he pushed on with the army up the Mayn to Aschaffenburg, which was reached on the 16th of June; the numerical strength of the whole force being then about 43,000—consisting of 16,000 British troops, 16,000 Hanoverians, and the rest Austrians. His intention probably was to secure the navigation of the Upper Mayn, which was necessary for the conveyance of provisions and forage from the districts where those supplies were to be had. But if such was his purpose, it was checkmated by a counter-move of the enemy's general.

A powerful French army of about 60,000 troops of all arms had already advanced from the Rhine towards the Mayn, under command of the Duc de Noailles. That skilful commander saw immediately the advantage to be taken of Stair's move to Aschaffenburg, so far away from his supplies at Hanau; and without giving the allied army an opportunity to fight, which would not have been declined, he set about a series of masterly manœuvres, of which the effect was, by having the Mayn bridged above and below Aschaffenburg in several places and artillery fixed in advantageous posts, to cut off his adversary's communications in every direction, and confine him to the position he had taken up. In this *Krieg-spiel* Stair had the worst of the game, and in a few days his army was reduced to a state of perilous distress.

At this critical juncture, George II., who had come from England to take part in the campaign, arrived from Hanau. He was accompanied by his son, the Duke of Cumberland, and by the foreign

secretary, Lord Carteret, and immediately assumed command of the allied army. His arrival had a favourable effect in suspending the disagreement between the English and Austrian generals, raising the spirit of the troops, and putting a stop to their depredations on the adjoining country.

In this state of matters it was resolved by the king and his Hanoverian advisers, without consultation with Lord Stair, to fall back upon Hanau, and regain at all hazards the army's communication with its magazines and expected reinforcements.

The distance from Aschaffenburg to Hanau by the road on the right bank of the Mayn (the line of which is nearly followed by the recently constructed railway) is about sixteen English miles. The road lay through a valley hardly a mile in breadth, bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by the *Spessart-wald*, a range of steep wooded hills. Half-way between the two places was the village of Dettingen, situated on the north or Hanau side of a ravine and morass formed by a small stream descending from the Spessart hills to the river, and crossed by the highway. The valley opens out considerably on approaching Dettingen from the south. Various posts on the left bank of the Mayn, between Aschaffenburg and Dettingen, were occupied by French batteries.

Early in the morning of the 27th June the allied forces began their march in perfect silence. During a great part of the march to Dettingen they were under fire of the enemy's batteries, which swept the valley, and caused some loss of men as well as disorder among the cavalry.

Noailles, aware of the nature of the ground, had in the mean time occupied the village of Dettingen, north of the morass and ravine, with a body of 24,000 of his best troops, both horse and foot, of which he gave the command to his nephew, the Duc de Grammont, strengthening his position with field-works, and directing Grammont not to cross the morass, but await the arrival of King George and his army, who were expected to be taken as it were in a trap. By a lucky chance for the allied force, this well-laid plan miscarried.

When Lord Stair, riding to the front in the wider plain below Dettingen, saw that the French had crossed the Mayn, and were prepared to dispute the passage at the ravine, he set himself without delay to deploy the regiments, as they came up, into an order of battle in two lines.

While these movements were taking place, Noailles, confiding overmuch in his nephew's discretion, rode off to reconnoitre a ford for the passage of some additional cavalry, when Grammont, an impetuous youth, tired of remaining on the defensive, suddenly quitted his almost impregnable position, crossed the ravine, and ordered an attack with his whole force upon the troops in the plain, which were more numerous than his own. The French cavalry, the flower of the army, began the attack with impulsive bravery, and broke the front line of the allies' left. They were soon brought up, however, by the second line of foot who advanced from behind, and after a gallant resistance their ranks became disordered. The British cavalry, meanwhile, including the 1st Guards regiment of Oxford Blues, led by its

Colonel, the Earl of Hertford, the Scots Greys, under command of Sir James Campbell, and General Ligonier's 7th Dragoons, being ordered to advance, completed the disorder, and drove back the enemy with great slaughter. The two armies, horse and foot, becoming intermixed, the French were subjected to further disadvantage by their artillery on the left bank of the river necessarily ceasing its fire. In the heat of the contest, George II. placed himself, with a courage worthy of his race, at the head of the British and Hanoverian infantry on the right wing, waving his sword, and inspiriting the men with voice and gesture. The Duke of Cumberland was wounded. The generals, Stair and D'Aremberg, were not wanting in their exertions. Lord Stair was especially conspicuous in urging on the regiments of horse, as well as in directing and encouraging the battalions of infantry. The French foot, including the choice household troops, failed to sustain their reputation. After a short contest in their lines, being ordered to outflank the allies, they threw down their arms and fled—some to the wooded heights, some to the pontoons on the river, where many were slain or drowned.

The French loss was about 6000, that of the allies about 3000,—prisoners being taken on both sides. The engagement lasted from nearly two till four o'clock. Stair advised a pursuit of the enemy; but from the exhausted condition, as was alleged, of the victorious army, his advice was overruled. The allies then marched on to Hanau, leaving upon the field of battle about 600 wounded.

Upon their arrival at Hanau, Lord Stair proposed

to seize upon Hochst on the Mayn and to lay a bridge over that river, so as the army should cross it, and be posted in such a manner as to hinder the French from getting back over the Rhine. This proposal, also, was overruled. As a last resource for maintaining the allies' superiority, he recommended, but in vain, that the foot regiments should be embarked and sent down the Rhine with all possible expedition into Flanders.*

It was one peculiarity of this contest, that the vanquished army was left in possession of the field of battle. The wounded men of the victorious army were formally recommended by Lord Stair to the

* See Lord Stair's Memorial to the King, in the Appendix to this chapter; Coxe's Pelham Administration (Introduction); Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.; British Glory Revived, 1743; Despatches and Letters in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1743; Earl Stanhope's England, vol. iii.; Carlyle's Frederick II.; Packe's Historical Account of the 1st Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blues).

Notwithstanding his eccentricity of style, Mr Carlyle's account of the battle of Dettingen is one of the most distinct I have seen. When referring to the gallant behaviour of the Scots Greys, he has mistaken their colonel, who was the Hon. Sir James Campbell (of the Loudoun family), brother-in-law of Lord Stair, and not Colonel John Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyle. Sir James Campbell was killed at the head of his regiment two years afterwards at Fontenoy.

In Smollett's novel of 'Roderick Random' (perhaps as good authority as his history), a notice of the battle of Dettingen is introduced which, after mentioning the perilous situation of the allies, contains the following passage (his hero, it will be remembered, fighting in the ranks of the French): "But Providence or destiny acted miracles in their [the allies] behalf, by disposing the Duc de Grammont to quit his advantageous post, pass the defile and attack the English, who were drawn up in order of battle on the plain, and who handled us so roughly, that after having lost a great number of men we turned our backs without ceremony, and fled with such precipitation that many hundreds perished in the river through pure fear and confusion; for the enemy were so generous that they did not pursue us one inch of ground,—and if our consternation would have permitted, we might have retreated with great order and deliberation."

care of the Duc de Noailles, by whom they were attended to along with his own wounded. A convention was also made for an exchange of prisoners.*

At Hanau the army was joined by its expected reinforcements; but further operations on the part of the allies to drive the French out of Germany soon became unnecessary, as Noailles, pressed upon his other side by the Austrian force under Prince Charles of Lorraine, retired of his own accord beyond the Rhine, giving up his intentions on Germany, and glad to escape an invasion of French territory. George II. and the allied army passed the Rhine at Mayence, and went as far as Worms, where the operations of the campaign were brought to a close.

Not to interrupt the thread of the narrative, the following letters (from the Stair Papers) have been postponed till now :—

Mr R. Trevor (Attaché at the Hague) to the Earl of Stair.

"HAGUE, *July* 2, 1743.

"Though your Excellency's time is so much taken up in deserving compliments, that you have scarce any time for receiving them, I cannot let the courier, whom Baron Reischart is despatching to the army, set out without congratulating you from the bottom

* "Les deux Généraux s'écrivoient des lettres qui font voir jusqu'à quel point on peut pousser la politesse et l'humanité au milieu des horreurs de la guerre."—Voltaire, Louis XV., c. 20. Six weeks after the battle, Voltaire met Lord Stair at the Hague, and asked him what he thought of it. Stair's answer was: "Je pense que les Français ont fait *une* grande faute, et nous *deux* : la votre a été de ne savoir pas attendre; les deux notres ont été de nous mettre d'abord dans un danger evident d'être perdus, et ensuite de n'avoir pas sû profiter de la victoire."—*Ibid.*

of my soul upon the glorious and important issue of last Thursday, the news whereof did not reach this insignificant place till to-day at noon; and indeed all the accounts we have hitherto received of it are so general as rather to raise than to satisfy our curiosity. I have, however, had the pleasure to learn from the messenger that your Excellency had received no hurt; and though the public is assured by the same canal that neither that of the Duke [of Cumberland] nor of Duke d'Aremberg is dangerous, yet it thinks itself too much interested in both their welfares not to be under great uneasiness on their account, to which I hope our next advices will put an end. I need not represent to your lordship how universal the joy is here upon these tidings. General Diemar is the only man I have seen to-day with a grave face, but he takes his absence from this glorious scene so grievously to heart that he looks liker an ambassador of France than an Austrian general. I must not forget the ladies of this place, very few of whom have, I believe, omitted to-day drinking to your Excellency's health, and that of the young blooming hero [Cumberland] they lately saw here. . . .

"My wife begs leave to congratulate your Excellency, and all your brave fellow-soldiers to whom she has the honour of being known, upon this joyful occasion."

Lady Murray of Stanhope to the Earl of Stair.

"WOOLER, HAUGHHEAD, *July* 12, 1743.

"I will make no apology for giving you the trouble of this to convey the enclosed; it concerns us all so

nearly, I am sure you will pardon it. I knew Lord Haddington would think himself happy to be under your particular command in a lower rank than he would accept of in any other regiment; * and you may be sure it is what all of us desire most extremely, since it is the way of life he is fixt upon, which I cannot but wonder at his choosing in such perilous times. Both his and our only dependence is upon you, and there I must leave it. I cannot find words to tell you our joy and thankfulness for your safety and glorious victory, though our hearts are far from being at ease for what is likely yet to come. I pray God send us good accounts of you. If universal good wishes could avail, you would ever be safe and happy, and I hope you are preserved for the honour of this nation, and to complete your own glory. We are here for the goat-whey to Lady Binning, whom it has quite recovered. You have the most ardent good wishes of young and old of us; and I am, with sincere esteem and affection, &c.

"GRISELL MURRAY."

The Earl of Hertford† to the Earl of Stair.

"*July* 30, 1743.

"I won't begin my letter to your lordship without congratulating you first upon the victory you have

* Thomas, seventh Earl of Haddington, son of Lord Binning and Rachel Baillie, Lady Murray's sister, succeeded his grandfather in 1735 upon the death of Lord Binning at Naples. Lord Binning's eldest daughter, Grisell, was married in 1745 to the second Earl Stanhope.

† Lord Hertford, who commanded the Blues, was the eldest son of the Duke of Somerset.

obtained at Dettingen, in which you had so great a share. One reason of my applying to your lordship now is in behalf of my regiment [the Blues], which lies under the most barbarous treatment, from a report that was made by Ower the messenger, as if they had run away and had refused to obey when your lordship had come to the head of them. This story has so far prevailed here, all over England, that when I attempt to justify their behaviour, I am not believed, but even laughed at. This is carried so far that without something be done to take off this false charge, the regiment must never come home, nor shall I ever be able to recruit it. In these circumstances, I know nothing can redress us but a letter or certificate from your lordship how they did behave. Therefore I must beg, my lord, that you will send me such a one as I may publish to the world. I am satisfied you will readily do this for a corps that has a right to have the false report made of them taken off. My officers write me word that they were to wait on your lordship on this cursed report, and that you told them you were surprised at the account they gave you, and that you had never laid anything to their charge."

There would seem to have been no foundation for the report complained of by Lord Hertford, as to his regiment's hesitation in advancing when ordered to attack the French force. It had suffered considerably from the batteries on the opposite side of the Mayn, when covering the formation of the allied troops in order of battle; but both Lord Stair and General Honeywood, when appealed to as eye-wit-

nesses, declared in favour of the conduct of the regiment of Oxford Blues on the day of the fight.

Colonel James Gardiner to ——. *

"BANKTON, *July* 26, 1743.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you all upon the late glorious victory, and it has been no small joy to me that Lord Stair escaped so well, to whom I beg you will be pleased to make my compliments acceptable. For my own part, I have been extremely bad ever since I left you, both upon the road and since I came home, with my old distemper, an ague in my head. I was in great hopes the journey would have cured me, but I grew worse. I met with poor Johnny Young at Berwick, in his way to Lisbon; I was greatly concerned to see him look so ill, and, poor man, he was much troubled at my illness. I hope the air of Portugal may recover him. I was much surprised that when the Hanoverians and Hessians joined you after the battle, you did not pass the Mayn and attack the French army. You would have had a cheap bargain of them, after having given them such an overthrow, which my Lord Stair knows well. It is true there may be reasons to the contrary which I can know nothing of. . . . Mrs Stirling is at present at North Berwick. All the world agrees your son Bob is as fine a boy as ever was seen, and his master commends him much for an exceeding good scholar. I was the other day to pay my respects to my Lady

* The address of this letter is awanting, but it was evidently addressed to an officer in the allied army, a relative of Lord Stair.

Stair at Newliston, whom I found in very good health, and Mrs Primrose much fatter than ever I expected to have seen her. Mr Carlyle has not been at home, nor his wife, since my arrival. We have heard a very extraordinary story of Mr Duvernay; I should be glad to know the truth of it. I beg you'll be so good as to make my compliments to General Campbell, Ligonier, and all the rest of our friends."

Truth is brought in contact with fiction in a singular manner by two letters which Lord Stair received in August of this year, when in command of the army, from Lady Vane, the "Lady of Quality" whose memoirs, founded on fact, are related in 'Peregrine Pickle.' In the first of these letters, her ladyship, whose own conduct had not been irreproachable, applies to Lord Stair to assist her against the proceedings of Lord Vane, who, after having, as she alleged, treated her with great cruelty and to the danger of her life, had despatched an agent to procure an order from the queen of Hungary to take her person. Lady Vane was then residing at Brussels, in the Austrian Netherlands, but afterwards, on Lord Vane's agent procuring this order, removed to Paris. From Paris she writes again to Lord Stair, entreating him to obtain the king of England's interest that she should be allowed to reside at Brussels (not being secure from her husband's insults in England) until her suit for a divorce was decided.

These letters are illustrations of the substratum of truth underlying so much of Smollett's writing.*

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvii. Lady Vane's husband was the second Viscount Vane, whose father William was created Viscount Vane in 1720.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Lord Stair resigns his appointment of Commander-in-chief—"The three Johns"—The grounds of complaint on the part of Stair and his friends in England made the subject of discussion in Parliament—Stair appointed to the command of the forces in South Britain—Letters of Lord Drummore, Duke of Richmond, Lord Cathcart, and others.

WHETHER owing to the king's preference for his German advisers or not, there can be no doubt that Lord Stair's advice after the battle of Dettingen did not receive that consideration which was due to his position and experience as a military man. His recommendations in regimental matters also were disregarded, and he himself (as he alleged) personally slighted. Upon the king's return to England, he presented to his Majesty a memorial complaining of not having been well treated, and not sufficiently consulted and deferred to in the military operations and details of the army, concluding with a request to be allowed to retire from the command-in-chief without any mark of the royal displeasure.* When this memorial was submitted to the king, Lord Carteret acquainted Stair that his Majesty accepted his resignation and, though displeased with the Memorial, would show no further marks of his royal displea-

* Printed in the Appendix to chap. xxv.

sure, if Stair's future conduct should not give occasion for it.*

Lord Stair had a powerful party in England upon his side. Their cause of complaint was, no doubt, partly owing to the anomalous position in which he, as commander-in-chief, was placed by the king's presence with the army, not to mention George's known partiality for the Hanoverian generals. But considering that before the king's arrival the army had been moved beyond its proper base of operations, which was at least a very hazardous if not a blamable step, it may be doubted whether the dissatisfaction of Stair and his friends in England was entirely well founded. He had been out-manœuvred by the French general, and this not unnaturally produced some distrust of his counsels.

His grievances, such as they were, met with decided sympathy from many British officers (including the Duke of Marlborough, his second in command), who threw up their commissions in disgust at the alleged neglect of Stair and preference shown for the Hanoverians.

The opposition party in England were inclined to make political capital of these jealousies and discontents, and talked ironically of the warlike foreign secretary Carteret becoming the new commander-in-chief. The following doggerel verses on "the three Johns" (the Duke of Argyle, Earl of Stair, and Lord Carteret) appeared in the public prints :—

> "John, Duke of Argyle, we admired for a while,
> Whose titles fell short of his merit;
> His loss to repair, we took John, Earl of Stair,
> Who, like him, had both virtue and merit.

* Coxe's Pelham Administration, vol. i., Appendix.

"Now he too is gone, Ah, what's to be done!
Such losses how can we supply?
But let's not repine, on the banks of the Rhine
There's a third John his fortune will try.

"By the Patriots' vagary he was made Secretary,
By himself he's Prime minister made;
And now to crown all, he is made General,
Though he ne'er was brought up to the trade." *

Lord Stair had now the prospect before him of returning, as he said, "to his plough." He remained, however, during the autumn and winter in London, cheered by the intercourse and letters of his numerous friends, whose constant goodwill and sympathy, together with his own elastic temperament, made him proof against all changes of fortune:—

Lord Drummore to the Earl of Stair.

"*October* 13, 1743.

"I fancy it will not be disagreeable to your lordship to know somewhat more particularly the state of your farms than for some months past; but before I begin to entertain your lordship with these amusements, I cannot help congratulating you upon the resignation you have lately made of the command of the army. I am extremely sorry your lordship found

* These lines are quoted from Wright's 'Caricature History of the Georges,' where also a copy is given of a caricature of the battle of Dettingen, in which Field-Marshal Stair's eagerness for pursuit, and the anxiety of the king (represented as the heraldic Hanoverian horse riding on the famished British lion) to save his German troops, is brought out with some humour.

yourself in that unhappy situation as either to be obliged to part with your honour or it. I was extremely glad to see your lordship, for the public good of Europe, bear what you have bore so long as you did. . . . I can assure your lordship it is not necessary for you to publish the reasons of your conduct to the world, which is rather (were it possible) partial in your favours. I fancy the most of these reasons have been assigned, and those who wish well to the Protestant succession are very sorry for them. . . .

"The Galloway tenants are such lazy hounds as deserve no pity; whether corn is cheap or dear, the rent is alike ill paid. They trust to favours that have been done, and expect, when they have eaten and drunk their rents, they shall meet with a repetition of them; and they are so spoilt by the favours already bestowed, that they are good for nothing. I gave them fair warning of what would be their fate in April was a year, and I am sure, if your lordship turns them out, you will get much better tenants in their room; if you keep them, you shall always have very ill-paid rents.

"I have little to say on the subject of Newliston than that there is a very good crop of corns and hay, and a good deal of grass. Your lordship shall need to buy nothing, and have a good deal to dispose of, which would make it answer very well, if grain bore any price. I forgot to tell your lordship that, in the west country, there is no such thing as buying or selling grain, nor in Galloway.

"*P.S.*—The garden of Castle Kennedy is in high splendour and glory; Thomas [the gardener] in very good health."

The Earl of Marchmont to the Earl of Stair.

"BATTERSEA, *Saturday, Oct.* 29, 1743.

"Lord Bolingbroke and I sent to your servant a note saying we should wait on you to-morrow. But as Lord Chesterfield has invited us to meet your lordship on Monday to dinner, Lord Bolingbroke proposes waiting upon you on Monday morning, because he dares not cross the river too often in this cold weather. I am sorry to hear you complain of ill health; I hope you will soon be as well as I wish you, who am hereditarily and sincerely," &c.

When parliament met in the end of the year, the king's Hanoverian leanings, and the slights to which Lord Stair was alleged to have been exposed, were the subject of strong invectives by the opposition. Lord Sandwich concluded a declamatory speech with a panegyric upon Stair, which even his most partial friends might think somewhat overcharged. "In Lord Stair" (said the orator) "were lost all that nature or that experience had ever furnished to complete a general—a mind at once calm and intrepid, a temper at once active and resolute—qualities of which, if any recommendation could be imagined necessary, it may with justice be affirmed that they are recommended by a thousand testimonies of the firmest adherence to his Majesty, and by sufferings in the sacred cause of liberty." "The man so long celebrated for his courage, his wisdom, and his integrity" (Lord Westmoreland said, in another debate)—"the man who had so frequently signalised his zeal for the

present royal family—was reduced to a statue with a truncheon in his hand, and was permitted only to share the dangers and hardships of the campaign, of which the Electoral Divan regulated the operation."*

Stair himself took no active part, nor showed any resentful temper, upon the score of his so-called grievances. On the contrary, when alarms of a French invasion were rife, in the beginning of the ensuing year, he tendered his services to the king, and received from his Majesty, in terms of the following royal warrant, the command of the forces in South Britain :—

"*Feb.* 24, 1744.

"We, reposing special trust and confidence in your conduct and abilities, have thought proper to appoint you to command all our forces which are or shall be in South Britain. Our will and pleasure is, that you take upon you the command of our said forces accordingly, and that you march, quarter, and encamp the same in such manner as the exigency of affairs shall require for the preventing any invasion from abroad, and for the preservation of our royal person and government, and of the public peace and tranquillity at home. And you are to obey such orders as you shall receive from us from time to time. And all magistrates, justices of the peace, constables, and other our civil officers, are hereby ordered to be assisting unto you in providing quarters, impressing carriages, and otherwise as there shall be occasion."

Along with this warrant a list of the general offi-

* Jan. 31, 1744. (Quoted from Douglas's Peerage, by Wood.)

cers was sent, "whom his Majesty hath been pleased to name to serve under Lord Stair's command."

This appointment went far to soothe the troubled waters, so far as Lord Stair was concerned. It was creditable to the government, and a source of congratulation to his friends.

Colonel James Gardiner to the Earl of Stair.

"EDINBURGH, *Feb.* 29, 1744.

"I take the opportunity of my Lord Cathcart to congratulate your lordship upon your having the command of the troops in South Britain, at which I believe all, if lovers of their king and country, rejoice, especially considering the present situation of affairs. I need not tell your lordship what real joy it has given me; but I can assure you it is by much the best news that I have heard since the battle of Dettingen. I have passed my time very ill since I left your lordship in Germany, having always had an ague in my head till within these eight or ten days, that I find myself a good deal better. I desire to bless God that He has preserved your lordship's health so wonderfully. I hope it is for a blessing to these nations, and to the Protestant interest in general."

Lord Drummore to the Earl of Stair.

"*March* 3, 1744.

"I had wrote to your lordship by Lord Cathcart if I had had as much time, the whole of which, after he

took the resolution to go away so suddenly, I was obliged to apply to his affairs. He is a young man of the greatest merit, and surely your lordship must have the greatest pleasure in making a second *élève* of that family, that cannot fail in doing honour to you and all concerned in him.* Whatever affects your lordship's welfare always rejoices me, the rather that (especially at present, I think) the public good is full as much advanced in your being put at the head of the army at home as your private interest. It gives satisfaction to the nation, and grieves its enemies. I made my compliments to your lordship upon your resignation last year, and now I confess I have a larger field to compliment you than I had then. I shall say in one word what I think—that your lordship's conduct at present is a greater instance of true magnanimity than what your resignation last year was. . . .

"To purchase horses to draw the water [of the coal-mine], and forage to maintain them, I am afraid will be an expensive thing, and must run away with the profit of the coal for this year. . . . It would be highly for your lordship's interest to set the coal and farm under proper regulations as to both, for which I have reason to think a very good rent may be got; and if that were the case, your lordship's estate would make a far better figure in the balance

* Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart, having succeeded his father in 1740, received a company in the 20th Regiment of foot, and acted in the campaign in Germany as Lord Stair's aide-de-camp. Serving with distinction in the army, he married a daughter of Lord Archibald Hamilton of Riccarton, and was father of William, tenth Lord Cathcart, of the Duchess of Athole, the second Countess of Mansfield, and the Hon. Mrs Graham.

of the accounts of it than now it does. I shall be glad to have your lordship's directions upon this article, and that as soon as possible. . . .

"A great many people here are highly feared about the invasion. . . . I hope before this time Sir John Norris has given a good account of the Brest squadron. I cannot persuade myself there is great hazard in the French landing such a body of troops as to do more than put us in a little confusion for some time. Their undertakings for this year seem to be very extensive. I believe if they had been used as they deserved at Dettingen they would have been quieter to-day, and as glad to receive law as now they seem disposed to give it."

The Same to the Same.

(Extract.)

"Drummore, *April* 24, 1744.

". . . I had an application from the magistrates of Stranraer to obtain some forces for them to repress the depredations of the privateers in Loch Ryan and the vicinage. I applied to the general, who, with great regard and friendship, said that any thing he could do to oblige Lord Stair must be very acceptable to him, but the provision of arms was so scanty in this country that he could not possibly part with any; and if he did, so many applications had been made, that, if he had complied with them, none must have been left. But he has fallen upon a device which is more effectual for the security of the country —to wit, to send a company to Stranraer to receive

such recruits as shall be raised upon the Act of Parliament. This he has done in a most polite and obliging manner as to your lordship, and I have this day wrote to the magistrates to take particular care to use the officers and soldiers well."

Lord Reay to the Earl of Stair.

"TONGUE, *March* 5, 1744.

"Though the alarm of an intended invasion may be over e'er now, I think it my duty to acquaint your lordship that, in case of any such design, I am still ready to venture my all in defence of my king and country as sincerely as I did on all former occasions, particularly in the year 1715. And though I know that your lordship is fully convinced of this, yet, as I am the chief of a Highland clan, I expect you will do me the justice to assure his Majesty that they and I are most willing to sacrifice our lives and fortunes in support and defence of his person and government. I will esteem your lordship doing me this honour a very great favour."

The following letter from Charles, second Duke of Richmond, refers to the marriage of the Duke's eldest daughter, Lady Georgina, to Henry Fox, first Lord Holland, which (much against the will of her parents) had taken place some days before. Of this marriage, Charles James Fox was the second surviving son.

The Duke of Richmond to the Earl of Stair.

"WHITEHALL, *May* 9, 1744.

"I must beg your lordship's indulgence for leave to go into Sussex for two or three weeks, if you have no particular commands for me in that time; but, if you have, my aide-de-camp will wait to receive them, and I shall be proud upon all occasions to obey your lordship's commands. A very melancholy affair in my family is the occasion of my desiring to be retired for a few days. A most ungrateful and undutiful daughter has behaved cruelly to, I'll venture to say, the most kind and indulging parents. And I must acquaint your lordship that an old intimate friend and brother officer of mine, who deserves neither the name of friend or officer, much less that great one he bears —I mean the Duke of Marlborough—has perfidiously (in breach of all faith, honour, and friendship) been privately aiding and assisting in this scandalous affair. I beg your lordship's pardon for troubling you with my private affairs, but you have always been so good, kind, and friendly to me, that it is some ease to impart them to you."

Lord Stair, as in command of the forces in South Britain, had now his headquarters in London, where he lived pleasantly enough in the society of the metropolis. He does not seem to have had much trouble with his military arrangements. The strength of the army, indeed, was in Germany, still warring in the cause of the Pragmatic Sanction and Maria Teresa, while a Jacobite rising was becoming more and more imminent at home.

The letters that follow are from Lord Cathcart, written from the seat of war on the Continent, and from a London friend of Lord Stair's, Lady Susan Keck :—

Lord Cathcart to Earl of Stair.

"Ostend, *July* 16, 1744.

"After an extremely tempestuous passage of twelve hours, I arrived here about one o'clock this afternoon. I was sick to death, according to custom, and am yet scarce recovered, but unwilling to lose the opportunity of a messenger to pay my duty to your lordship. I have been to wait upon the Count de Chandos since my arrival here, and knowing the respect and good opinion your lordship entertains for that general, I took it upon me to make your compliments to him. He has no news of any new motion of Prince Charles, but says about 25,000 men are in march to join him from Bavaria. . . . There are in this garrison two regiments, of Ponsonby and Lord Harry Beauclerk, a Dutch battalion, with six companies of ours that were dispersed in the storm, and two companies of Grenadiers of De Prie's regiment. The six companies are sure to march to Ghent, where the five regiments now are; upon the march of the army, four of them are to join it. I inquired about our artillery, which was reported in London to be gone down to Antwerp; I am told it was embarked for that purpose, then disembarked, and now is in the case of Prince Volscius, with one boot on and t'other off, being half re-embarked and half on shore: whether love or honour is to get the better does not seem to be

determined. Our army have orders to be ready to march on a moment's warning—they say towards Mons—whence some politicians, with long noses, pretend to smell the siege of Maubeuges. The French are behind the Lys, somewhere near Menin, and are reported to be entrenching themselves. I propose setting out post to-morrow by daybreak for the army, which I may join in the evening. I am beforehand with a battle this campaign, for I have no accounts of either horses or baggage, and am rather more destitute of necessaries at present than I was the day after Dettingen. The first person I saw on this side was the noble Colonel Stanhope going his rounds. He had sent a bill of £100 to his brother some time ago, and was extremely astonished and confounded when I told him I had asked Lord Stanhope's commands for him, and had brought no news about it. He has since received some consolation by the post, and desires me to make compliments for him to your lordship. Your lordship has all the intelligence Ostend affords. . . ."

"BRUSSELS, *July* 22, 1744.*

". . . I sent your lordship the printed account of the passage of the Rhine, and of Prince Charles's possessing the lines of Lauterbourg. . . . All accounts from the Rhine agree that there never was known such a desertion as there is from the French; in one day came into Manheim between two and three hundred. By all accounts it appears, on the

* This letter, which is unsigned, would seem to be also from Lord Cathcart.—Stair Papers, vol. xxvii.

other hand, that Prince Charles [of Lorraine] has a fine army; it is called commonly here 100,000, but by the best information I could get, I find there passed the Rhine at least 57,000 regular troops, and upwards of 20,000 irregular, comprehending hussars, Croats, &c. And we look upon it as certain that, from Bavaria, there is marching to join him 20,000 more, probably attending the heavy artillery which I cannot find is yet come up. What a change, my lord, from this time two years—the Queen of Hungary, with an army of 100,000, penetrating into France! The brave prince seems to have adopted your lordship's maxim of not taking the bull by the horns, but of entering his entrails. . . . Your lordship, I hope, by this time will know from better hands whether or not there is any detachment sent from the French army in Flanders for the assistance of M. de Coigny's army. We hear that the detachment is actually on its march, but I don't think it yet certain, and the less so that the French are weaker, according to all I can gather, than they are commonly believed to be. If, then, a detachment goes from the Duke de Noailles of 25,000, I think it impossible he can keep the field with the remainder; and how far the French may think themselves secure in these parts, with garrison towns alone, is a question which your lordship has long ago determined.* If the French had been so strong as reported, why did they not crush our army in its infancy? If we were to retire, they had at least Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, this whole country, with all our magazines."

* This refers probably to Lord Stair's part in the Duke of Marlborough's battles.

Lady Susan Keck to the Earl of Stair.

"GREAT FEW, *July* 12, 1744.

"I hope your lordship observed I have had a great victory, for I don't think 'tis an easy matter to conquer our inclinations, which I did by leaving London at present. I don't mean London, but what London contains, and that in a very narrow compass. I went off at a very solemn and sober pace; it seemed as if the horses knew my disposition. We got to Park Place that evening, where I found added to the family Lord Tweeddale, Mr Pitt, and Mrs Edwin. The senator went off Monday morning, and I left the rest Tuesday morning, and got home that night, where I am like a beauty in her last stage, living on reflection. I long to hear that your lordship is in perfect health, which I hope I shall hear by Lord Dumfries's pen, since he owes me a favour for his neglect of me the day I left London. Knowing this may possibly interrupt you eating your dinner, I will only add that I am, with the greatest affection and regard, &c.

"Mr Keck begs leave to offer his compliments to your lordship. Pray, excuse this sad scrawl, but my palsied hand will write no better."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Lord Stair one of the sixteen Scotch representative peers—Jacobite insurrection—Unpreparedness of the Government—Letter of Lord Loudoun, Sir John Cope's adjutant-general—Deficiency in ways and means for putting down the insurrection—It is stamped out by the Duke of Cumberland—Letters of Stair to Duncan Forbes, President of the Session—Death and character of Lord Stair.

Upon a vacancy occurring in the autumn of 1744 in the Scotch representative peers by the death of Lord Lauderdale, Lord Stair, after an interval of twenty years, was again elected one of the sixteen, even his old opponent *Congé d'élire*, as Lord Islay used to be called, now by the death of his brother become Duke of Argyle, declaring in his favour.* When driving to Kensington one day before the end of the year in the coach of the president of the Council, Lord Harrington, he had a fit of apoplexy, from which, however, he recovered.

The reported French invasion resulted, as many expected, in a Jacobite insurrection, headed by the young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, the history of which is familiar to most readers. The scene of the insurrection being at first entirely in Scotland, and the government force sent there being intrusted to younger officers, Stair had very little

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvii.

responsibility as to the measures which were taken to check it. King George was at Hanover (having previously appointed a regency) when Charles Edward landed on the coast of Inverness-shire. On his return to England, every thing was in a helpless state of want of preparation. Sir John Cope was sent in command of the small Government force to Scotland.

So defective was the intelligence of the government at Cope's headquarters at Edinburgh, that we find Lord Loudoun, more than a fortnight after the Pretender's landing with his seven followers on the west coast of Scotland, writing thus to Lord Stair :—

The Earl of Loudoun to the Earl of Stair.*

"EDINBURGH, *Aug.* 13, 1745.

"Last night arrived an express from the Duke of Argyle, on which I shall be the less particular, as a copy of it is sent up, which your lordship will see; and shall only beg your lordship will take into your consideration the necessity there is in the present situation of having ships in that sea, both to prevent foreigners from landing, and keep our own islanders from joining them. Your lordship will likewise see another express which Sir John Cope received at three this morning from Campbell at Fort William, and an affidavit, notwithstanding of both which 'tis my private opinion that there is no landing as yet

* The Earl of Loudoun (Lord Stair's nephew), who entered the army in 1727, had raised a regiment of Highlanders, of which he was appointed colonel, April 1745. He acted as adjutant-general under Sir John Cope, and was at the battle of Prestonpans.

but from the French sloop [the Doutelle], which we have heard of from the beginning. What convinces me of this is, that all accounts agree in this sloop, and in several particular people that are in her; but all accounts that go farther contradict one another. And Campbell, I am told, is a very credulous man; and now that I am on his intelligence, I must take notice of what he says of his garrison being but 130, which is what I don't understand. . . . The situation of that regiment is—three companies at Fort William, three at Fort Augustus,* two at Inverness, one at Barran, and one at Ruthven, which last was immediately ordered to Fort William, as are the two companies of General St Clair, which are as many as the garrison can hold, as I am informed from several hands. Besides, your lordship knows how much our army in the field can spare to the garrisons.

"Our troops encamp to-morrow at Perth and Stirling. This morning the last of the stores for them set out from hence. This morning Sir John [Cope] expects the return of the messenger sent to beg the Duke of Argyle to return hither. If he comes, he proposes to consult with his Grace before he sets out. For my own share, I have been in my boots these several days, and am ready with my own hand to go to any point of the compass where 'tis thought I can be of most use.

"Sir John makes compliments to your lordship, and

* Charles Edward's first success was an attack on two of the three Fort Augustus companies marching to reinforce the garrison at Fort William, on the 16th August, three days after the date of this letter.—Stanhope's England, vol. iii., chap. 37.

hopes you will excuse his not writing, as you have the account of what is doing from me; and your lordship knows that the trouble is almost as great with a few as a great many troops, when taking the field is new both to the troops and the assistance he has. He has been extremely busy, and the numberless expresses he is forced to send are really oppressive.

"These disturbances come hard on me in raising my regiment. Several of the companies are complete, but Cluny M'Pherson's is not one of them.* Till I see returns again, I am afraid there are a good many men wanting in the Athole company. I assure your lordship nothing shall be neglected that is in my power to do; your lordship, I hope, thinks I will not be idle. . . ."

In fulfilment of his duty as the general officer commanding in South Britain, Lord Stair kept himself in correspondence with the authorities north of the Tweed, sending down commissions for independent companies, and giving his advice upon the situation of affairs. A few days before the battle of Prestonpans, we find him intimating to Lieut.-General Guest the arrival of the Dutch auxiliary troops :—

"London, *Sept.* 14, 1745.

"Sir,—His Majesty sends the first embarkation of Dutch troops forthwith into Scotland. Their instructions are to proceed to Montrose or Dundee;

* Cluny, soon after the landing of Prince Charles, raised the men of his clan in the Jacobite cause, so that his company in Lord Loudoun's Highland regiment, otherwise not very reliable, became an entire blank.

they are there to obey such orders as you shall find it for his Majesty's service to send—either to land and act on that side, or to come to the Forth, as you shall find it expedient to direct. Of this I am ordered to give you advice. Major Stewart, as commissary, goes along with the Dutch troops."

On the 20th of September, when Edinburgh was in the occupation of the Prince's army, after the fight of Prestonpans, the ministry and Privy council in London were in a state of great perplexity. The Duke of Bedford, Lord Halifax and others offered to raise regiments for the king's service,—an example which the Duke of Montrose and the Earl of Marchmont (rather late in the day) were invited by Lord Stair to follow.* These proposals evaporated in talk.

A fortnight after, when the Highland army was on the eve of marching into England, Stair, in consultation with Lord Marchmont and the Duke of Montrose in London, proposed to take this opportunity of telling the king that he had a number of faithful subjects in Scotland, whose ancestors had made the Revolution and supported the Union and the Protestant succession, and who were now ready to do what service they could, although they had been too much neglected; and that as soon as the Highlanders, who were now possessed of the whole country (of Scotland), should move to the south, these persons would arm behind them, and cut off their communications with the north. To impress his

* Lord Marchmont's Diary—Marchmont Papers, i. 98. This diary shows in a strong light the divided and unprepared state of the national counsels at so critical a time.

views on the king, Lord Stair had an audience and long conversation with his Majesty, who told him the Duke of Argyle intended sending forces to Stirling to cut off the retreat of the rebels, to which Stair answered that this was very proper, but that the king's troops at Inverness were too far off.*

When regarded from a military point of view, Stair's scheme of raising and arming troops by means of the private exertions of people of influence will probably be considered, as regards the important element of time, unequal to the occasion. King George and his ministers, moreover, seem to have had no great inclination to put arms in the hands of the retainers of discontented Scotch peers, preferring to wait the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland with reinforcements from the British army on the Continent.

In a letter of the 18th November† to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Session, Lord Stair wrote (after some speculation as to the course of the Pretender's campaign) :—

"In the mean time, I am anxious to know the steps that Lord Loudoun and you have taken, the number of commissions that you have given out, and in what manner you have posted and do propose to employ the Highlanders raised, and to be raised. I should think it might be in such a manner as to cut the communication between that part of the Highlands where the rebellion was raised and the Pretender in the south. I should be very glad,

* Lord Marchmont's Diary—Marchmont Papers, i.
† Culloden Papers, p. 252.

when I have the pleasure to meet with you, to learn a great many particulars relating to the behaviour both of the clans and of particular persons in the clans, which are subjects not proper to be freely treated of in letters; and, on my part, I shall have a great many curious things to say to you. In the mean time, according to the best of my understanding, I shall go on my road straight; which, God knows, has no other end than the happiness and independence of my country, and of the king that governs us. This letter goes by your son, who sails from hence in a sloop appointed to carry every thing that is necessary for the Earl of Loudoun's regiment. Henceforth I hope we shall have a free communication with Inverness and the country on that side, by the way of Edinburgh.

"*P.S.*—I cannot send my letter without telling you that it is impossible to speak of you with more esteem, value, and even friendship, than his Majesty has done of you frequently."

Such was the helpless condition of matters in England after the battle of Prestonpans, and previous to the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland from Germany, that the rebellion was left to burn itself out, or be scotched or smothered, as the case might be. "Charley and his men" carried all before them for several months in Scotland, and then, with more courage than prudence, invaded South Britain as far as Derby, without supplies, without artillery; the insurrection being at last stamped out, after frightening London from its propriety, by the iron heel of the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden.

In February 1746, before the battle of Culloden, Lord Stair, then ailing with a bad cough and cold, wrote from London to Lord Cathcart that no man but the Duke of Cumberland could have forced the rebels to abandon Stirling Castle without a contest; and immediately after the battle we find him recommending the chain of forts (Fort William, Fort Augustus, Fort George) built for securing the quiet of the Highlands, to be put in a better state than Marshal Wade had left them.* Soon after this he bade a final adieu to London, returning to his house at Newliston and his family. On the approach of winter he moved to Queensberry House, in the Canongate of Edinburgh, for the sake of medical advice and attendance; complaining, after a short stay there, in a letter to Lord Cathcart of 19th December, that he was sick of Edinburgh, and of eating and drinking without his usual exercise, and was anxious to get back to Newliston and his rural pursuits.

Lord Stair was now near the end of his long career, retaining to the last his intelligence and activity of mind. In January 1747 he wrote to Lord Cathcart from Edinburgh, with unabated interest, upon the subject of the war with France. On the 30th of April, within a fortnight of his death, of the approach of which he was apparently conscious, he thus addressed his friend, Duncan Forbes :†—

"EDINBURGH, *April* 30, 1747.

"I give you the trouble of this message to thank you for the many marks of your friendship which I

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvii. † Culloden Papers.

have received, and to beg of your lordship that you will now and then take into your consideration and give your best advice to my family, which very probably may fall into distress; though for many years past the family has been, without varying, attached to the honour and interest of their country, and though I myself personally have had the good luck to be useful more than once to the present royal family. My dear Lord, I shall not make you any other compliment on your behaviour as to public matters of late than my having seen and approved of most of the things you transacted during the rebellion, and, as far as I understood, of what your lordship proposed for making an end of this unhappy rebellion. — I am, with the greatest affection and esteem, &c., STAIR."

This was one of the last letters Lord Stair wrote. He died at Queensberry House on the 9th of May, and with him the third generation of the Stairs in a direct line came to an end. The Countess of Stair survived till 1759, residing at the time of her death in Edinburgh.*

That Field-marshal the Earl of Stair was an historical character of the first class, or that as a man he was free from faults, no impartial biographer will venture to assert. The age of the two first Georges is considered to have produced comparatively few characters of transcendent merit either

* The Earldom of Stair is now held by the Right Honourable John Hamilton Dalrymple, tenth Earl, who is descended from Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick, second son of the first Viscount Stair.

in war or politics, but it can show many of good mark and likelihood, who, in their several departments, have left a name in British history. Among the remarkable persons and representatives of ruling families during that period, the second Earl of Stair is entitled to a place in the first rank. In the southern part of the island he was known and distinguished on account of his personal qualities; in Scotland he had the additional distinction of being the head of a patriotic and powerful, and, in his own generation, highly popular family.

Bred a soldier under the Duke of Marlborough, by whom his military services were justly rewarded with promotion, he displayed intrepidity and ability in subordinate commands. Late in life he received the chief command of the army, his conduct in which position has been the subject of the exalted praise of his friends, and of the criticism of opponents.

Lord Stair was a diplomatist as well as a soldier. His embassy to France continued upwards of five years, and the details of it which have been given in the foregoing account of his life afford the best materials for judging what were his talents as a diplomatist and his qualities as a man. This embassy has been characterised by Lord Hardwicke as "most important in its objects, most brilliant and spirited in its execution;" and whether we regard the ambassador's industry in discovering or his skill in counteracting the designs of the Jacobites at the time of the Insurrection of 1715, the favourable issue to the newly-seated royal family appears as much due to Stair, and the influence exerted by him with the French government, as to any other single cause.

The Duc de St Simon's character of him, which has been already quoted, may vouch for his polished manners and address; from the decisive tone of his diplomacy he showed that he was possessed in a fully larger measure of the *fortiter in re*. By the French courtiers he was frequently called insolent; and his bearing was often regarded, even by Lord Stanhope and the British ministry, as wanting in suavity, although it may be questioned whether a more conciliatory and less brusque mode of speaking and acting could have answered the occasion. Although as ambassador he should have avoided an actual quarrel with Mr Law, then all-powerful in France, his distrust of that clever adventurer was amply justified by the result; and his anticipation of the breakdown of Law's schemes point him out as endowed with more foresight than the ministry in England.

At the close of his embassy, Lord Stair showed himself possessed of the same spirit of independence of thinking and acting which engaged him afterwards in the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and to the Earl of Islay's management in Scotland. In his long years of opposition, he proved himself a keen and sometimes a factious partisan; but he was so in company with Cobham, Pulteney, Chesterfield, Marchmont, St John, and Pope.

He has been not unfrequently characterised as extravagant and fond of show, addicted to gaming and intrigue. These faults were palliated, however, by the custom and practice of a period in which gambling, intrigue, and ceremony were part of the creed of the world in which he moved. If he intrigued at Paris during his embassy, it was for the interest and with the

sanction of the master by whom he was accredited, while his extravagance hurt no one so much as himself.

That the laurels earned at Dettingen were shared by his sovereign may be admitted. Posterity has awarded, whether justly or not, a larger proportion of the merit of that victory to George II. than did Stair's contemporaries, including those who were present at the battle.

Lord Stair's politeness and knowledge of good-breeding are matter of tradition, and have been often the subject of remark. From the tone of the letters of intimate friends and relatives, now for the first time given to the public, there must have been also something very genial and attractive in his nature and disposition, underlying this surface of external manners.

APPENDIX

SECOND EARL OF STAIR

(CONTINUED)

THE STAIR ANNALS—SECOND EARL OF STAIR.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

Letters of Lord Bolingbroke to the Earl of Stair.

(*Addressed on the back "for Mr Fielden."*)

PARIS, *April* 24, 1717.*

I WAS out of town when yours of the first of this month, O.S., arrived, and have but a moment of time to answer it in before the departure of the post. York is too sensible of the obligations he has to you for that affection and zeal wherewith you have espoused his cause, to have recourse to verbal expressions of gratitude, terms which are in the mouth of every man and in the heart of so few. He desires that the conduct of his life may pass for the expression of his sense of what he owes you. He thought of writing to Mr Stoker [the king], but on reflection he judges that may be better done and more properly in point of time when you come on this side. In the meanwhile, he entreats you to say for him, in answer to what you have yourself writ, all that duty and gratitude can suggest. You may very securely answer for him that he is in Mr Stoker's interest; nothing but death shall interrupt his constant

* Stair Papers, vol. xi., B. These letters are in Bolingbroke's handwriting, but unsigned.

application to promote it. He begs of you further to say in his name what is proper to those people who manage Mr Stoker's affairs, and who you judge to be York's friends. The hints you give are sufficient to show that it would be altogether imprudent to attempt at this time your finishing of York's affair, and he himself would be the first to advise against it. On my conscience, I think that hellebore will hardly cure the people you have been among these two months. Mr Stoker must use some violent remedy, or he will never root this distemper out; but of this at large when we meet. Since you return so soon, though I shall continue to be seldom at Paris, yet I will not remove far out of the way, but be at hand to embrace you the moment you arrive. I am very sensible of all the friendship which Plummer [Craggs] shows to York, and have answered his letter which you was so good as to send me.

The devil is extremely your servant. I pass the most easy hours of my life in that infernal company. Adieu, my dear lord. I am, by all the ties of inclination and gratitude, most affectionately and faithfully yours.

The Same to the Same.

October 13, 1717.

The letter from Brinsden [Bolingbroke's private secretary] contains little new. He had seen Lord Sunderland, Lord Carnarvon, and Jemmy [Craggs.] I will read it to you when we meet next. It should seem as if they were not very sure of their own situation, and by consequence my return must be as impracticable next session as the last. Have you leisure this evening? If you have, I will meet you at Mad. de Vilette's, who is much your servant, and desires much to sup with you. I hear that a certain devout lady was locked up a day or two ago above an hour in the closet of the Duke of Orleans. May your curious things not relate to this adventure? I stayed for Mr Gardiner till eleven o'clock, and have since sent M. des Places

to show him the coaches.* I thank you for executing to D. O. the commission relating to me. It has come round to me by a Frenchman who had it from one of the lowest rank of the Jacobites. You may remember we said it would be so. I must not conclude without telling you how much I am penetrated by the accounts which I receive all ways of my obligations to you. My whole life shall be one continued expression of my gratitude to you, and unfeigned friendship for you.

Mr George Bubb (Lord Melcombe) to the Earl of Stair.

MADRID, *August* 30, 1717, N.S.

. . . We expect very shortly to hear of an action in Hungary, and I can assure your lordship that this armament [of Spain] has put the Nuncio and the Venetian into so much disorder that I am satisfied they would be very much embarrassed to choose which they would have get the better, the Emperor or the Turks, if it were in their power to decide it. . . . I acquitted myself of your lordship's commission to the lady yesterday with great dexterity and success, for though I am unfortunate in my own affairs, I am a very lucky second. I am to return you a great many compliments. I think she is the most devote person I ever was acquainted with of her age and nation; I wish I may ever be so happy as to be tolerably well with anything so holy, for I am sure the edifying things one must sometimes hear must expiate all the little *faux pas* that one may happen to make. I beg your lordship's pardon, and shall say no more on this subject. May be I do it wrong, for the truth is, we are such a pack of frightful ugly fellows here that we are capable of making a saint of any woman living. I humbly thank your lordship for the trouble you have been pleased to take about the watches;

* Lord Stair was at this time beginning to prepare for his grand *entrée* in the character of ambassador, Captain Gardiner acting as his master of horse.

they will strike, but too fast for me to go by.—I am, with the greatest sincerity and respect, &c.,

GEO. BUBB.

The Earl of Peterborough to ——*

I have sent you an answer by the hands of the governor, which you may easily believe is not all I could say, but on this occasion I must act with all possible caution not to put them to the necessity of justifying themselves at any rate in so extravagant a proceeding. This proceeds from the hellish dispositions of some persons in England, who, disappointed at my behaviour, which I may say was very respectful to the king after the usage I had met with, and thinking I might be of use towards settling the present disorders in England in the ensuing parliament, have thought of this expedient to prevent it. I am happy in this humour, that let what will happen I make myself easy, and only think of what to me seems most proper to be done in the present occasion. I should be uneasy in myself if I had fallen into an inconvenience which I ought to have prevented; but who could defend himself against what could never be imagined and believed? And if there were a necessity of some sort of accusation, one would wish such a one as nobody can give the least credit to. . . . I do not desire any body to solicit any thing violent upon this occasion; it might be dangerous in my present circumstances. I desire principally what may detect the horrible villainy of so groundless an accusation, leaving the rest to time. . . . The next thing I desire you to recommend to Mr Methuen is to desire all the foreign ministers especially that they will be pleased to write to their masters, what they know to be true, that the ministers of the Imperial Court had made some complaints of me to the court of England, which occasioned Mr Addi-

* Stair Papers, vol. xii. This letter, signed by Lord Peterborough, was probably addressed to a British minister at some Italian court, who had sent it to Lord Stair.

son to write to me not to pass in my travels in Italy through the emperor's dominions; as likewise to inform their masters that nothing was more public for three weeks before I left England than my intentions to return for Italy, it being almost every day the discourse of the princess in the drawing-room before all the public ministers; and not one of them but were acquainted with it by myself, having carried over from all of them something or other which they sent either for Paris or Italy. Since the world was, there never was any thing more public; it was the subject of raillery, the subject of serious discourses; and yet I stole into Italy upon this noble design, though every step was public, having gone to the court of Turin and that of Parma, and without any stay in any place till I came directly and openly to my house in Bologna, where I was eight days before this noble exploit. There never was such a case afore since the creation of the world; in a Catholic country an accusation against a Protestant supposed by a Catholic prince blamed and detested by everybody!

You will be pleased upon this occasion, for my security, not to reflect too much upon the young spark [the Chevalier], but upon those who could give him such malicious informations, excusing the tenderness of a mother when the safety of a son is concerned, and the fears of a young prince to whom they represent his life in danger; but you will, as you have room enough, represent the weakness, the absurdity, the impossibility of this ridiculous jealousy. Whatever you do upon this occasion will be for the honour of the nation, and very much oblige, &c.

(*Signed*) Peterborough

Pour Urbano Le 9 ene otto ve 1717

Sir David Dalrymple to Thomas Crawford, Esq.
(Secretary to Lord Stair's Embassy).

New Hailes, *April* 6, 1717.

Dear Tom, — After long silence without apology, I come to thank you for the execution of many commissions. My daughter met her gown and petticoat with my wife's scarf at London, and writes to us that all is very good and very pretty. They are much your servants. . . . I have had the pleasure to stay this one season at home, which, though my sickness is too good reason for it, gives me comfort. I send you enclosed a letter from Ramsay of Abbotshall to Mr Law; the address is blank, because he would not fail in point of respect, and did not know what titles to give him. Pray let one of your clerks write upon it what address you please, and deliver it. . . . You perhaps do not know the little Abbot; it is nobody much beyond the size of ordinary country lairds.

My wife bids me say that if she did not charge you with a commission to buy for her an apron and handkerchief, she should have done so. She begs you may send them still, with the bill of all your expenses. Pray in what situation is the Burgundy? That is a precious article, wherein Jamie and I are as much concerned as her ladyship. Now, pray, please to give my hasty service to Mr Law and to my Lady Law. I am very sensible of the civilities I received from them both. . . . My service to Will Gordon. Tell him, deil a tooth I have but one and two fractions; he and I may crack [talk] at our youth as we please. I can tell you no manner of news, only Edinburgh decays hourly. As to my son James's amour, I can say nothing for his ill success. I am sure if I had been the lass, I had taken him before all the world. He was really afflicted at first, more than fat folks use to be. At last he found out that if he had lost his mistress, he was not married at least! These are his own words. . . . I am called to supper, and can only tell you, &c.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

*Letters, The Duke of Roxburgh (Secretary of State for Scotland) to the Solicitor-General Dundas.**

LONDON, *Nov.* 28, 1717.

I HAD yours of the 21st last night, with the memorial concerning the *Forfeited estates;* and, as far as I am able to judge, think your sentiments on that affair very just, and look upon it as a very great instance of your zeal for his Majesty's service and concern for the public. I had the honour to lay it before his Majesty this day, who has commanded me to show it to my Lord Chancellor, for that affair will soon be set upon another foot than it is at present. But I find most people of the mind that those estates should be set to sale at a public roup, the money to be paid into the exchequer, and the creditors to be paid out of the first and readiest of it; and where an estate is not sufficient to pay the whole creditors upon it, that such creditors should be paid out of the superplus of the whole. But the great question is, who should have the power of determining the claims and rights of the creditors; and for that, some have proposed a new court to be erected by Act of parliament, only for that purpose the nomination of the persons being to be left to the king. I hope you will confer with the Justice-Clerk upon this, and let me have your

* These letters, hitherto unpublished, are from the Arniston collection. Sir James Stewart was dismissed from the office of Solicitor-General and Mr Dundas appointed in his place, June 14, 1717.

thoughts of it as soon as possible. As to the last part of your letter, all I have to say is, that his Majesty expects that you'll do what you think most for his service and for the good of the public in all those cases you mention; but I wish you had told me whether the Advocate (Sir David Dalrymple) had left you a deputation or not, for by that, I suppose, you would have power to do what you think best, which probably would be as well as with his directions. But if he neither has nor will give you a deputation, some other way, to be sure, will be taken to enable you to do the business.

The Duke of Roxburgh to the Solicitor-General Dundas.

LONDON, *March* 14, 1719.

I had yours of the 10th last night by a flying packet, and am sorry to find the proceedings in the House of Lords [as to the Peerage Bill of this year] occasion such an outcry in Scotland. I never, indeed, doubted but the Jacobites there would at all times be against the taking away the election of the peers, for I know that they have always reckoned the breaking the Union the likeliest way for them to compass their designs, and (in one word) to set the Pretender upon the throne. It is likewise very certain that they have always looked upon the continuing the election of peers as the likeliest and surest means to bring about the breaking of the Union, both from the load that it is upon the constitution and the opportunity it gives to the peers to meet and consult together at an election; for nobody, I believe, will deny that the scheme of the late rebellion in Scotland was laid at the last election there;* so that it is very clear why the Jacobites should be fond of

* The race-meetings and hunting-parties in Scotland in the years 1714 and 1715, at Perth and in Braemar, are also credited with having afforded opportunities to the Jacobites for concerting their plans.

the election, though I am satisfied all that have sense among them must look upon it (taking it abstractly from Jacobitism) as a mean and dishonourable thing.

It is very true that when the Union was made, the election of the peers was agreed to by both parliaments, but it was never then imagined (let be mentioned) that no peer of Scotland, after the Union, could be made an hereditary peer of parliament. But however unjust that resolve may be, as I am sure I have always thought it, yet no one, I believe, thinks it will ever be taken off so long as the election subsists. So that all that is now to be considered is our present disgraceful condition, and how to mend it. In the first place, there is not a subject of Great Britain, nay, the very meanest of the kingdom, that is not capable of being made an hereditary peer of parliament, except the peers of Scotland alone; and should any peer of Scotland do the most signal and greatest service to the king and kingdom, yet still he is incapable of receiving this honour, and for ever must remain so while this election continues; and as for any advantage the peers of Scotland have by the election, I know of none that the poorest amongst us would not be ashamed to own, and this I take to be our condition as it stands at present. By the bill that is now brought in, the constitution is to be free from the dead weight of an election of peers; and the peers of Scotland—nay, Scotland itself—from the shame and ignominy of it, which last, in my poor opinion, is more than an equivalent for the election itself.

But besides the being rid of the election, the bill proposes that there should be five-and-twenty peers of Scotland to sit hereditarily in parliament—the number of the peers of England to be at the same time to be ascertained and fixed. The patents of the twenty-five peers, who are to be named by the king, are to be restricted to the heirs-male, so that when those honours descend to the heirs-female, another peer of Scotland is to be called up in the room of that female, whose Scotch peerage still continues, and will

be capable of being called up to the House of Lords again whenever there is a male in that family, and a vacancy in the five-and-twenty. Now, considering the chance of families extinguishing, the chance of families merging in one another, and the chance of those titles descending to the females, I would gladly ask whether the peers of Scotland that happen not to be of the first nomination are not in a more honourable and better condition from those chances than they are at present with the election, and at the same time an incapacity of being made hereditary peers of parliament? The commoners of Scotland are to be exactly in the same condition as the commoners of England—that is, capable of being called to the House of Lords in the room of the English families that shall happen to extinguish, which, by a very just calculation, may be reckoned to be three or four in two years' time, which no wise man, I believe, will think too few either for the crown or for the commoners, unless one would wish to see the House of Commons made up of men neither of worth nor consideration.

I must further add, that besides these three chances abovementioned to the peers of Scotland, if their eldest sons should be called up in the place of an English family extinct, it is impossible that it can be quarrelled if this bill passes. Whereas, if the election continues, it is not unlikely that the Earl of Kinnoull's patent may signify as little to him as the Duke of Dover's will to the Duke of Queensberry, though his father sat two years in the House as Duke of Dover; and this, I do assure you, has already been said very openly by some of as great consideration as any in the House of Lords.

I am sorry to have given you so much trouble; but the paragraph in yours upon this subject made it impossible for me not to give you my poor reasons for the part I am, God willing, resolved to act in this great affair, which, if it passes, is entirely owing to the goodness of the king, and is what few of his predecessors would ever have agreed to.

But as he has no design against the liberty of his people himself, so I am confident he wishes that none who may hereafter succeed to him should ever have it in their power to destroy it. I shall only add one thing more, which is, that if this business is not done now, we are sure the Tories, whenever there happens to be a Tory administration, will not again risk its being to be done by the Whigs; and what the consequences of its being to be done by the Tories may be, I leave it to you to judge.—I am, your faithful humble servant, ROXBURGHE.

The Same to the Same.

(*Extract.*)

WHITEHALL, *Aug.* 11, 1719.

. . . I should be much better pleased to hear that the attainted lords were apprehended than that they are still lurking in the north, where I am sorry it proves a matter of so much difficulty to catch them. We expect every day to hear that the treaty with the king of Prussia is concluded, which, in all probability, will soon put an end to the troubles in the north.

When the President of the Session dies, I shall write you my thoughts fully and plainly as to his succession.

(*Extract.*)

LONDON, *June* 20, 1720.

I think it very extraordinary what you write concerning Lord Seaforth and the other attainted persons being returned into Scotland, as also what Stirling of Keir was pleased to say; but to brag and to drink is what the Jacobites have always claimed as their own. However, if Lord Seaforth is really returned, it would be of great importance

to have him seized, and if it can be done by the regular troops, I wish Brigadier Preston would think of it and do it, if it is possible ; but if it cannot be done by the regular troops, I wish it could be accomplished some other way.

(*Extract.*)

London, *Oct.* 20, 1720.

One can wonder at nothing that happens in relation to the forfeited estates, considering what opposition even his Majesty's servants * have made to that affair, and what discouragement every one has met with that have set their faces to it; but still I should think it mighty well that a society in Scotland should go about it, since the York Buildings is so low.†

* Viz., Sir David Dalrymple (when Lord Advocate) and others.

† The "York Buildings Company," formed for the purpose of buying up the Scottish forfeited estates, turned out to be a bad speculation, in consequence chiefly of the difficulties the company encountered in disposing of the claims of the real creditors on the estates.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

*Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Advocate) to the Earl of Stair.**

LONDON, *Feb.* 27, 1718, O.S.

. . . The Bill for sale of the Forfeited Estates has been pushed in our House with much vigour; in that Mr Walpole and the king's servants have been at one. It is the bill that ever I saw that has the greatest contradiction to all the solid maxims that use to govern lawgivers, and to the peculiar maxims of the House of Commons. Judges are brought in disfavour for owning their sentiments, and executing the law though browbeaten by *favourites!* Such are the [parliamentary] commissioners, and more dangerous than those of the king. Their power had its rise in the House of Commons, who are the checks on other occasions, but thirteen members is a goodly number. There was an expedient proposed by Mr Baillie [of Jerviswood] and myself. The gentlemen might have been continued with powers to inquire, to prosecute all actions, or to make all defence against false claimants; and, for despatch, the ordinary courts might have been enabled to proceed summarily, and sit in vacation time. But nothing could please but erecting the commissioners into a court of claims, with such exorbitant and (unless it be to concuss creditors to sell their debts at what discount men please) needless powers as ever were known. One thing has been carefully done throughout the bill: the Clan Act, as they call it, preserved the right of all personal as well as real creditors remaining

* Stair Papers, vol. xvi.

faithful, unhurt; the Inquiry bill did the like; but this bill leaves no place except to real creditors, and these, too, under diverse chicanes. . . . The bill is a pure despite against the creditors who have dared to take the benefit of their rights against the lands, because it obstructed the commissioners; and, as Hobbes said long since, "when reason is against a man, a man will even be against reason." The judicature of the Session has incurred the displeasure of the commissioners, and it has been treated with vile language. The jurisdiction is encroached on worse than was intended last year. Cardinal de Retz charges Richelieu with the subversion of the liberties of France, and rests his character on this point, that he was the first who punished magistrates for doing that which their oaths had tied them to do at the expense of their lives. He speaks of Richelieu sending the president Barillon to Amboise in that plan. We have not gone so far; but we have broken a treaty to get in on the jurisdiction. One remark more on this head I beg to make. Richelieu's common way was to erect a new court out of the parliaments that did business, and destroyed the authority of the judicature and of the law. Those who accepted to be factors by acts of the Lords of Session are left absolutely to be in the commissioners' *grāvi misericordiâ*, as our old law says. . . .

The Same to the Same.

April 28, 1718.

. . . I perceive there is a real difficulty to find judges ready to be delegates. Much depends on Cullen, who is naturally *ombrageux*, if he fears all the rest are like to start aside, though some of them have a terrible mind to a new salary; and if men come to a good price, God knows what that may do. Hitherto the court seems contented with the victory of carrying the point in parliament, and keeping terms with the gentlemen of the commission. If they

should now rest, and press no further, there may be room to set the king's affairs with respect to the very undeserving Jacobites on a foot more firm and useful for restoring the public tranquillity. His Majesty's great goodness, and the happy situation of his affairs, I hope will make things softer, and at last even the froward will bless a government made for the happiness of mankind, and which, like the sun, shines on the just and the unjust.

The Same to the Same.

March 13, 1718.

I have been sick and doubly peevish, being so on that account, and for the ill success of some struggles I in particular have had against the bill for sale of the forfeited estates—a wild one, if ever I saw any, and which forfeits more innocent than the attainders have forfeited guilty folks. I am not able to think of looking my poor afflicted country in the face. God pardon them, who, on pretence of zeal against rebels, increase the number of their well-wishers, and lessen the just affection which so good a king ought to have from a Protestant people. Peter Haldane is a better man than poor Baillie and I; and in another place Earl R. [Roxburgh] is a better man than the Duke of Montrose! God give us grace, for we are not fit for distress.

> "So many people which one sheaf did bind,
> Blown off and scattered by one puff of wind,"

said a poet of the days of yore.

There have been many reports about your lordship being to be relieved, and the politicians have assigned different causes. Some said you had disobeyed the court where you are; others say the court here is cool towards you; and besides the reasons which you may guess, they have found others,—amongst the rest, that your lordship is expensive to them; and they even pretend to be angry at your gam-

ing. These stories alarmed me, having come from the city as well as from this end of the town, with this addition, that Mr Robethon spoke very indifferently about you. I inquired at your worthy friend, the Duke of Montrose, who was (as he always is) concerned where your lordship is concerned; but no apprehension touched his Grace, and I, from different hands, have had assurance that the whole story is fiction. Mr Craggs, who is more sound and honest than the statesmen of those days are generally, and very friendly to you, said,—If there be a man acceptable to the king's servants, if there is a man reckoned true and useful, if there be a man that serves the king, on whom he relies for ability and zeal, if there be one who by every body is owned to be necessary where he is, it is the Earl of Stair. But, he says, the politicians here observing that you have opposed this bill [as to the forfeited estates], and that your family must be against it, conclude you are all dissatisfied; and from thence, going one step further, take it for granted that the court is displeased with the Earl and all of you; and then they give out their dream to the first hand, which, as it goes, gets new circumstances.

I should not be just if I did not acquaint your lordship that Lord Stanhope, before I spoke to him, was resolved not to give your proxy for the damned Bill of sale; he did it in the handsomest manner. My little household present their most humble devoirs to the Countess of Stair, your lordship, and Mrs Primrose.

LONDON, *March* 31, 1718.

. . . I fancy that your lordship has been acquainted that your two cousins, Colonel Cathcart and Mrs Shaw,* are on the point of being married together, a secret of which I knew nothing till Friday last. He gets £3000 down, and £1000 at death, which, with £5000 he has got for his commission, will begin a new spring in his family. They have

* Only child of Sir John Shaw of Greenock.

both the honour to be known to you so well, that I need not say any part of the good that fills my heart of them both.

—— *Lambert to the Earl of Stair.**

PARIS, *June* 19, 1718.

Since I had the honour to wait on your lordship, I have been out of town, nor could I perform what was desired, it being much more difficult at present to know any thing than it was formerly ; nevertheless I have endeavoured to settle a correspondence that from time to time will advise me when any thing occurs. James Murray † is not come, nor is it certain that he will come ; it is believed that he will stay in Italy, and that Mar will come here, that he may be nearer business, because, under six weeks by the post, they cannot have returns where he is from England unless by expresses, which is most chargeable. He is to have full power to act as he thinks fit by the advices he receives from home. Walkinshaw of Scotstoun, Mackenzie of Delvine, and Bruce of Clackmannan, have taken a house in the *Rue d'Orangerie* at Versailles that is thought for Mar's use ; but the edict they expect soon—to be gone out of France, puts them all in great consternation, and, if true, will disconcert their measures. It is writ from Chamberry that the king of Sweden has sent a page to Italy to give an account of his embarking with the Duke of Ormond, accompanied with twenty-seven men-of-war. The page, as it is writ to me, told it to Father Sabran, as he passed at Chamberry. This letter I received yesterday ; it is but priest's news. It appears Father Sabran is going for Italy ; when any thing comes to my hand, I shall take the liberty to write.

* Stair Papers, vol. xvii. Lambert was a spy upon the Jacobites employed by the British Government.

† The Hon. James Murray, second son of Viscount Stormont.

Mr Sergeant Hanbury to the Duke of Roxburgh.

PERTH, *Sept.* 18, 12 *at night* [1718].

MY LORD DUKE,—I troubled your Grace with a letter from Newcastle, and afterwards, by hard journeys, got to this place in twelve days from London. Yesterday we settled some indictments, and this day preferred two against one Fairbarne and Fullerton.* There was a full evidence against them, but notwithstanding the Grand jury returned an ignoramus. We caused the witnesses to be examined in open court, and some of the jury declared they believed they were in the rebellion, but they would not find the bills, for the act of pardon [indemnity] had excused them, which we insisted they could not take notice of, but that it lay on the party to plead it, and that he was not within any of the exceptions. But whatever either the court or counsel could say to them could not convince them, but they seemed resolute, and seemed to be prepared for the purpose beforehand; and indeed there were some books lately writ to influence them, and to make them the sole judges both of law and fact, and to persuade them that they were not to find the bills by reason of the Act of Pardon; and that, or something else, had the effect. They were so bent that nothing could be expected from them, so they were discharged, and the court is intended to be adjourned till the 15th of October till Kelso is over, and, in the interim, is expected to command us how to go on.†

* Fairbarne (or Freebairn) was a printer who had been attached to the Jacobite army. Fullerton of Fullerton was a gentleman of landed estate.

† Stair Papers.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

Earl Stanhope to the Earl of Stair.

COCKPIT, *March* 30, 1718.

I AM to return your lordship my hearty thanks for your very kind letter of the 2d of April. Whatever station or situation I am in, I shall be your lordship's faithful friend and servant. I could never have forgiven myself if I had so far abused the trust lodged in me as to have given your proxy otherwise than I had reason to believe would be agreeable to your lordship; so that 'tis an excess of goodness in you to thank me for having done like an honest man.* I do indeed flatter myself that it will very seldom happen that we shall be of different minds in public matters. I repeat the compliments I make you in my other letter upon the handsome behaviour of the Regent. I hope your expeditious and happy management in this matter will contribute very much to our good success at Vienna, though I despair of ever seeing that Court do anything with a good grace. Your lordship need not be at trouble of writing the same things twice over, since I shall see whatever comes to Mr Craggs, who is very much your servant.—I am, and ever shall be, my good lord, &c.

The Same to the Same.

WHITEHALL, *March* 31, 1718.

I have now before me your Excellency's letters of the 2d

* This passage refers to Lord Stanhope's use of Lord Stair's proxy in the House of Lords, in voting upon the Government measures in Scotland.

and 5th April, N.S., with the several papers enclosed, which have been all laid before the king, who is extremely well pleased with your expedition and success in settling so happily with the Regent the two points of the general amnesty and restitution, and of the succession of the branch of Soissons to the crown of Sardinia. It gave his Majesty a particular satisfaction at the same time to see with what readiness and in how handsome a manner the Regent agreed to those points; and you may let his royal highness know how agreeable his generous and frank way of proceeding on these heads was to the king. Your Excellency may be sure that I did not fail to set this whole matter in the best light I could to his Majesty, and I congratulate you on your success, and hope the Regent's complaisance in these points will have the effect at the court of Vienna it ought.* Before I received your Excellency's despatch of the 2d April, I had writ to the king's ministers at Vienna his Majesty's thoughts upon these points, to furnish them with arguments in case his royal highness should have made any difficulty to pass them. But since they will have your Excellency's despatch much sooner than my letter can come to their hands, I hope they will immediately have made all the use possible of the Regent's generous and ready consent to the clauses you had proposed.

As to what the Marshal d'Huxelles insisted on before the Regent, that a treaty should be made with Spain for keeping the emperor within the bounds prescribed by this present treaty, and that these two treaties should go hand in hand together, the king thinks your Excellency was in the right in saying that such a treaty might be fit and necessary after this now in agitation with the emperor is concluded; and you may assure the Regent that his Majesty will then very readily concur in such measures as shall appear proper

* The Emperor's consent to the principal articles of the plan of the treaty proposed by Lord Stanhope was intimated soon after the date of this despatch, the only remaining point of difficulty being as to the garrisons to be stationed in the strong places of Tuscany and Parma.

for restraining any encroachments on the part of the emperor. Indeed, the king takes the chief object of the present treaty to be the fixing the dominions, and the setting bounds to the power of the emperor. And as all the parties concerned are to be mutual guarantees of the due execution of it, his Majesty does not see that it is very necessary to make any new stipulations for enforcing the performance of the conditions of this treaty. But notwithstanding that the reciprocal guarantees which are to be given appear sufficient to obviate the marshal's fears, yet the Regent may depend upon it that the king will certainly concur in such measures as may be proper for the purpose before-mentioned as soon as this treaty is finished. But to make any overtures to Spain now about such a treaty would in the king's opinion have very bad effects, and at least let them see that if they are but likely to hold out, they are not likely to be forced into any treaty.

As to the business of the private negotiation at Vienna with the court of Turin the day before your courier came, I had writ in very strong terms to complain of that proceeding of the Imperialists, to reproach them with such ungenerous dealings, and to desire they would speak plainly to his Majesty upon that head. But since I have seen in the Abbé Dubois' hands a detail of the transaction, with an account of the conditions, I am very much at ease. I believe such proposals can be only the product of some speculative head, and are no ways proper to build any negotiation upon; and, therefore, I cannot but persuade myself that they will not make any real impression upon the court of Vienna. However, to prevent any influence of that nature, I will not cease to inculcate to the king's ministers at that court to be very much upon their guard as to the Sicilian negotiation, and to traverse it by all means possible.*

* Stair Papers, vol. xiii., A.

*Colonel Stanhope to the Earl of Stair.**

MADRID, *April* 11, 1718.

. . . I am very sorry the business of this place won't afford any thing worth troubling you with the account of, excepting what relates to the present negotiation, the account of which your lordship will see how it stands by the enclosed copy of my letter of this day to Lord Stanhope. I hope your lordship will not be displeased with my sending you the enclosed, which I beg leave to assure you is not out of laziness, but I do it as thinking it would be better that your lordship saw what I write to England, than that I should give an account of it by another letter.

Colonel Stanhope to Earl Stanhope.

MADRID, *April* 27, 1718, N.S.

A courier that arrived here the 22d inst. to M. de Nancré [French minister at Madrid] brought the account of the emperor's having consented to the plan as it had been offered to him by M. Schaub, as also orders to M. de Nancré to open the whole purport of the proposed treaty to this court, and to demand their plain and positive answer whether they will agree to the conditions contained in it, and in case of difficulty to declare that the Regent is determined to execute his part, and that he cannot hearken to any alteration or new proposals, nor will transmit any to Vienna or elsewhere, if offered from hence. The same courier brought me letters from Lord Stair, and a copy of Prince Eugene's to his lordship, wherein the emperor's consent is declared. My Lord Stair gives me instructions conformable to those of M. de Nancré, and also refers me to his for the regulating my conduct. Upon the receipt of our letters, M. de Nancré and I agreed to put in writing heads of the intended treaty [Quadruple alliance], which we should

* Stair Papers, vol. xv.

offer to Cardinal Alberoni the same day; and in case he should desire it, to leave them with him as a memorandum, which we accordingly did. Upon receiving the proposals, the Cardinal expressed the utmost indignation at Sicily's being given to the Emperor, alleging that by this means the emperor would become absolute master of all Italy, and that, to make him terrible even to all the world, he only wanted a naval force, which this was the effectual way of procuring to him. Nor did he receive the giving of Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy with more temper, urging that the king of Spain could never consent to so great a dishonour, but especially to such a regard to the Duke of Savoy, who, as he had no sort of title to Sicily but what he had got by his bribing two or three English ministers, so he thought no equivalent should be given him for the loss of it. As to Tuscany and Parma, he made the same objections as formerly to the execution of what is stipulated upon those heads. . . . He afterwards complained of the plan in general as partial to the emperor, and instead of settling a balance in Europe, as absolutely destructive to it. Upon this I desired him to consider what Spain parted with, and what its advantages were; that by the plan, Parma and Tuscany were secured to Spain, for which they parted with nothing but a distant reversion of Sicily, in lieu whereof they had the reversion of Sardinia, which, though not an equivalent in itself, was abundantly made up by the other two: that the emperor gave up to Spain his pretensions to Parma and Tuscany, which it was impossible to suppose he could ever be brought to do without some compensation; but that the partiality appeared evidently to be in favour of Spain, since for what the emperor gave up to them the equivalent was not demanded of them but of the king of Sicily, who, having obtained that island (as he said, and I owned) without any title to it, should make up to the emperor what was given to Spain. The cardinal then confined himself to the balance. . . .

I have some reason to believe they are treating here underhand with the Pretender, the cardinal having often in

discourse advanced that it was in their power to find employment for his Majesty's troops at home, but that his Catholic Majesty hitherto would never hearken to any proposals of that nature. But I find it is the opinion of some people who seem to know what is doing here, that there is now an agent of the Pretender's at Madrid, and by the best information I can get, it is Baron Walef, who is come hither lately, and is the same person who carried off his regiment with the late Duke of Ormond, when he separated from the allies. I have known but a little while of his being here, but hope in a few days I shall be able to give a better account of him.

Colonel Stanhope to the Earl of Stair.

MADRID, *Sept.* 12, 1718.

I have received the honour of your lordship's letters of the 29th and 30th August, together with the accounts enclosed of the engagement between the fleets off Syracuse, and shall neglect nothing in my power, in concert with M. de Nancré, to profit, if possible, of the impression this stroke must undoubtedly make on the mind of our great minister here, by laying before him the further daily dangers he exposes the remainder of the Spanish fleet to, as also the almost certain loss of the army in Sicily. Though, to tell your lordship plainly my opinion, I can't help fearing that the late action will have a contrary effect, at least for some time; for as what he had most to apprehend from the English fleet is already executed, he will think he has not much to fear from thence till the next spring, and that it will not be for his master's honour to accept, now that he has lost his fleet, the conditions that even the saving of it would not persuade him to agree to. . . .

The Same to the Same.

MADRID, *October* 31, 1718.

By a French courier on the 26th inst. I received the

honour of your lordship's letter of the 18th; by mine of this day for Mr Craggs, your lordship will see that the success has answered the opinion you had of the Cardinal's sincerity in detaining M. de Nancré upon the pretext of disposing the king of Spain to an accommodation. As the war now seems inevitable, and of consequence my stay here not long, I hope your lordship will pardon my taking the liberty of desiring you will please to let your secretary ask a passport for me, my servants and equipage, from the court of France, to come to Paris. . . .

The Abbé Dubois to the Earl of Stair.

LONDRES, *April* 11, 1718.*

M. Craggs m'a envoyé la lettre dont votre Excellence m'a honoré. Vous devez vouloir bien du mal au roi de Sicile, qui veut étouffer votre enfant dans le berceau. Milord Stanhope, que j'appelle le grand-père du Traité, comme vous, Milord, le père, dit que si le Duc de Savoye ne veut pas être roi de Sardaigne de votre façon et nous dame le pion, nous aurons un pied de nez. Véritablement nous aurons perdu beaucoup de peine, mais si jamais les Allemands qui sont à la suite du roi de la Grande Bretagne, et qui ont fait tant de difficultés en faveur de l'Empereur, ont pour successeur à la maison d'Autriche un rejeton de celle de Savoye, je ne sais s'ils s'applaudiront d'y avoir contribué en rendant le Traité si difficile à construire. Quoi qu'il en soit, Milord, le roi de la Grande Bretagne n'en aura pas moins reconnu votre capacité et votre zèle, Monseigneur le duc d'Orleans votre amitié, et tous les soins que vous avez pris pour le faire valoir à votre cour, à celle de Vienna, et partout; et si vos talens n'étoient pas connus de tout le monde, je pourrois rendre temoignage que personne ne plaide une cause pour et contre, pour l'intérêt public, mieux

* Stair Papers, vol. xvi. The Treaty referred to in this letter is that of the Quadruple Alliance.

que votre Exellence. J'ai prié M. de Chavigny d'aller vous dire que je ne vous ai pas perdu de vue un moment dans l'absence, et qu'au mépris de la goutte qui me fait souffrir actuellement, j'ai bu frequemment du Tokay à votre santé. Esperons encore que la fortune s'accordera avec nos bons intentions pour la tranquillité publique, et qu'on ne vous enlevera pas le succès d'un ouvrage où vous avez eu tant de part. Je ne serai pas fâché, après avoir fait ici mon personage, de retourner à Paris pour vous renouveller, &c.

LONDRES, *April* 20, 1718.

Je vous restitue le compliment que vous m'avez fait sur l'acceptation de l'Empereur. S'il appartient à quelqu'un d'être remercié et applaudi, c'est à votre Excellence, sans laquelle la negociation seroit tombée, et auroit cedée aux contradictions qu'elle a trouvées en France, et aux difficultés que l'on faisoit à Vienna, en quoi vous avez fait du bien à toute l'Europe, et fait jouer au roi votre maître le plus grand rôle qu'aucun prince puisse faire. Il m'a paru plein de satisfaction de la manière dont vous l'avez servi dans cette occasion ; mais vous n'avez pas été moins le ministre de Monsigneur le Regent que celui de sa Majesté Britannique, et son Altesse Royale vous doit le succès d'une affaire que vous l'avez encouragée si fortement d'entreprendre. Puisque je m'y suis trouvé mêlé, je m'estime heureux qu'une main aussi habile que la vôtre l'ait maniée, et je suis ravi d'avoir eu occasion de connoitre les resources infinies qu'il y a en vous. Notre joye sera parfaite si l'Espagne est raisonable. J'espère que la partie que l'Empereur a pris sera un puissant motif, et que suivant la prédiction que vous m'avez souvent faite, le roi Catholique ne voudra pas perdre les avantages qu'on lui a menagés. J'espère apprendre dans peu cette bonne nouvelle, et aller dans le moi prochain me réjouir avec vous à Paris du succès de vos soins pour le repos publique, et vous assurer, &c.

PARIS, *Oct.* 26, 1718.

Son Altesse Royale ayant eu avis qu'il y avoit à Calais un Capucin Ecossois qui intriguoit pour les Jacobites, elle a ordonné qu'on le chassa, et qu'on l'envoya au loin en lieu sur; de quoi j'ai cru devoir vous rendre compte, en vous renouvelant, &c.

PARIS, *le 2de de Nov., jour fatal.*

Petcum est à Paris, Milord, et loge dans la rue de Bouloy. Il m'est venu voir ce matin. C'est un barbouilleur qui étoit en commerce à Londres avec Milord Townshend et M. Walpole, et est propre à donner ici de mauvaises idées du Gouvernement et de la situation présente d'Angleterre. Je lui ai parlé comme je devois. Attirez le chez vous, et lorsque vous l'aurez vu, je saurai de vous-même, Milord, vos idées pour rendre ses imprudences inutiles. Le courier pour la Hollande va partir; si votre Excellence a quelque chose à ajouter à la lettre qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de m'envoyer, j'attendrai ses ordres.

[PARIS,] *Oct.* 29, 1718.

Je ne puis pas, Milord, tarder plus longtemps à vous faire part de la joye que j'ai que les difficultés qui nous arrêtoient ont été levées, avec des marques si touchantes de l'amitié du roi de la Grande Bretagne pour son Altesse Royale, et du zèle de tous ses ministres pour la justice. Vous avez été l'Apollon de cet ouvrage,* Milord, et je vous en fais mon remerciment en attendant que j'ai l'honneur de vous faire part de tout ce qu'on m'écrit, &c.

PARIS, *Dec.* 5, 1718.

J'ai communiqué a Monseigneur le Regent la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 4^{me} de ce mois. Son

* The Quadruple Alliance.

Altesse Royale est constante dans la disposition de remplir fidèlement tous les engagements que le roi a contractés par le Traité de Londres du 2de d'Août dernier; et puisque le roi Catholique n'a pas eu égard aux representations qu'elle lui a fait faire touchant la saisie des vaisseaux et effets des sujets du roi de la Grande Bretagne, elle est prête d'exécuter l'obligation portée par l'article 3me des articles secrets du dit Traité, et en consequence du dit article de déclarer la guerre à l'Espagne; mais comme cette déclaration ne peut se faire dans notre gouvernement sans des formalités et des mesures qui demandent un certain temps, son Altesse Royale a besoin d'environ un mois pour ces dispositions; de sorte que si le roi de la Grande Bretagne déclare la guerre à l'Espagne le 19me du présent mois, suivant votre lettre, sa majesté la déclarera quinze jours après; mais si le roi de la Grande Bretagne juge plus à propos que la déclaration de guerre de l'Angleterre et celle de la France soient moins éloignée, l'une de l'autre, sa majesté se réglera sur ce que le roi de la Grande Bretagne trouvera plus convenable sur ce sujet, pourvu qu'elle ait un mois pour faire les dispositions et remplir les formalités qui sont absolument nécessaires; et dans cette occasion, comme dans toutes celles qui se présenteront, son Altesse Royale se portera avec fidélité et avec zèle à tout ce qui pourra contribuer à l'exécution et à l'accomplissement du Traité, et au maintien de l'Union qui est entre la France et l'Angleterre.

The Earl of Stair to M. de St Saphorin (British Minister at Vienna).

PARIS, *October* 30, 1718.

Je vous suis très obligé de votre lettre du 12 de ce mois, et de la bonne nouvelle que vous m'y donnez de la détention de la Princesse Sobieski. C'est une preuve convaincante de l'amitié sincère de l'Empereur pour le roi notre maître, à laquelle le roi sera très sensible. . . . Du reste, il faut faire justice au Regent. Il agit dans les intérêts de

la cause commune avec toute la fermeté possible. Il renouvelle les ordres aux ministres de France de sortir de l'Espagne immédiatement après le 2de de Novembre, à moins que le roi d'Espagne ne déclaroit son accession au traité dans ce temps là. J'ai envoyé par le même courier les ordres du roi au Col. Stanhope de revenir d'Espagne. Le Regent fait aussi marcher un corps considérable de troupes vers les frontiers d'Espagne, pour être en état d'y former une armée dès le printemps sous les ordres du Maréchal de Berwick, qui se comporte très bien dans cette affaire ici. Par les lettres que nous reçumes hier d'Espagne, il paroit qu'on n'y songe qu'à la guerre. On y avoit publié un décret pour défendre toute sorte de commerce avec la Grande Bretagne ; on y levoit des troupes à force ; et on y avoit donné des ordres pour acheter des vaisseaux de guerre de tous côtés ; et on avoit aboli les nouveaux impôts qu'on avoit établi dans la Biscaye et Navarre. On travaille fortement à faire une ligue avec les princes du Nord, sur laquelle le Cardinal fond ses principales espérances. Dans cette situation vous voyez, Monsieur, combien il est important qu'on agisse avec plus de vigueur qu'on n'a fait jusqu'à présent du côté de la Sicile. Par une nonchalance inconcevable, on a laissé perdre Messine sans prendre aucun soin de s'assurer d'une poste par où on pourroit déboucher a Melozzo pour former l'armée. . . . Il y a hier huit jours que les ordres du roi de Sardagne ont passé par ici à ses ministres à Londres de signer le Traité purement et simplement. L'ambassadeur ici insiste fortement auprès de M. le Duc d'Orleans de vouloir employer ses bons offices auprès de l'Empereur pour accorder au dit Roi de Sardaigne quelque chose de plus que le traité porte ; apparemment que Messieurs de Provane et de Perouse font le même en Angleterre.

Traduction d'une lettre du Cardinal Alberoni au Marquis de Beretti Landi (Spanish Minister at London).

[MADRID,] 29 *d'Août*, 1718.

Je fais sçavoir à votre Excellence que Milord Stanhope partit le 26me de ce mois de l'Escurial pour Madrid, d'où il devoit poursuivre son voyage vers Paris, ayant reconnu, durant le séjour qu'il a fait ici, la constance et la fermeté avec laquelle le roi a refusé d'admettre le projet des Princes médiateurs et la suspension d'armes proposée dernièrement. Il a appris de la bouche même de leurs Majestés, en des longues conferences auxquelles il eut l'honneur d'être admis, qu'elles détestoient ce projet comme injuste, préjudiciable, et offençant leur honneur. Je lui ai dit que je ne comprenois pas les motifs des Puissances alliés pour admettre le Duc de Savoye dans leur alliance, tant par rapport au peu d'utilité qui leur en résultera, qu'à cause qu'il est certain que les puissances n'ont pas besoin de troupes de Savoye, ne fut que ce prince voulut les maintenir à ses dépens, ce qui sera fort difficile d'obtenir.

Quant à la Sicile, j'ai declaré a Milord Stanhope, en présence du M. de Nancré, que la France et la Grande Bretagne avoient elles-mêmes, et pas qui que soit autre, induit le roi à reprendre ce royaume, puisque les deux cours ont assuré sa Majesté que le Duc de Savoye traitoit avec l'Archiduc pour lui délivrer cet isle, si ce prince l'eut voulu l'accepter, mais qu'il l'avoit refusé, considérant qu'il lui convenoit mieux de la recevoir par la disposition des puissances médiatrices et avec le consentement de l'Espagne ; parceque de cette manière il auroit l'avantage de l'obténir à plus juste titre et plus autorisé, outre l'assurance de la conserver à la faveur d'une si puissante guarantie. J'ai aussi fait connoitre à Lord Stanhope que l'Archiduc étant maître de la Sicile, toute l'Italie sera l'esclave des Allemands, sans que les puissances de l'Europe puissent lui rendre sa liberté ; et que les Allemands dans la dernière guerre, avec

un petit corps des troupes, ont tenu tête et disputé le terrain aux deux coronnes qui avoient des armées formidables en Lombardie, etoient maîtres du pays et d'un grand nombre des places considérables. Je lui ai aussi fait toucher au doigt que la Lombardie étoit un labyrinthe pour y faire la guerre, et la sepulture fatal des François et des Anglois, vue qu'il étoit nécessaire de gagner chaque pouce de terre par la force des armes ; que chaque anneé de la guerre passée a coûté à la France 18 ou 20 milles d'hommes de recrues, et plus de 15 millions ; que le Duc de Vendôme, dans le temps même que les choses alloient à souhait, disoit que si la guerre d'Italie duroit, il étoit indispensable que les deux couronnes abandonassent cette province à cause des dépenses immenses ; que suivant les engagements qu'on veut prendre à present, les secours de la Grande Bretagne sont éloignés et impracticables, et le moindre coûteroit un Potosi capable de détruire un royaume ; que pour à présent ceux de France sont impossible, et que la nation s'y opposeroit généralement ; que l'Archiduc triompheroit de tous ces avantages sans qu'il en revint le moindre dédommagement à l'Angleterre, laquelle au contraire en auroit pu profiter considérablement du côté de l'Espagne. Enfin, j'ai fait comprendre à Lord Stanhope que la proposition de donner la Sicile à l'Archiduc étoit extrèmement funeste, et que celle de borner ensuite ses vastes idées n'étoit qu'un songe et une illusion, d'autant que ce prince possedant la Sicile n'auroit plus besoin ni de la France ni de l'Angleterre pour s'assujettir immédiatement le reste de l'Italie, sans qu'aucune puissance soit en état de s'y opposer.

C'est la substance de toutes les conférences que Lord Stanhope a eues, et dont votre Excellence pourra le servir, selon les occasions qui se présenteront.*

* Stair Papers, vol. xviii. Whatever fault was properly found with Cardinal Alberoni's proceedings by the Government of George I., as running counter to existing treaties, his policy of restraining the too great preponderance of the Germans in Italy and Sicily was at least intelligible, and would have been received with more favour by England and France in the present century than it was in the last.

[The following letters from Mr Craggs to Lord Stair are a running commentary (of greater or less weight) on the history of the time. Stair Papers, vol. xiii., B.]

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *March* 17, 1718.

I cannot content myself, my dear Lord, with the common circular letter to notify my preferment to your lordship. I must acquaint you in a private one from your old friend Jemmy Craggs, that you have in him a new but a very secure one in the ministry.* What you wrote to me while I continued in the War Office, of that man who offered his service to discover what was passing among the Jacobites, seemed to me very material. I will make good any encouragement you shall give him. . . .

LONDON, *March* 27, 1718.

Give me leave to add to the letter which I write by the king's command in relation to Dunkirk, that I am also directed to let you know that you should give any proper encouragement to C——, whom your lordship wrote to me about on the 7th inst. N.S. He must not expect an immediate pardon, because if that were once the practice, people who had a mind to return in order to carry on new rebellions with security, would make the same pretence. But he may depend on being connived at; and if he will address himself to me, and can show that he is capable of being useful, he may depend not only on his pardon but other encouragement. I have reason to believe that the Jacobites in this country propose some new insurrection. Our treaty [of the Quadruple Alliance], if it takes place, will defeat this, with many other projects. The letters we have had from Vienna confirm the same circumstances

* Mr James Craggs had been recently promoted from being Secretary at War to be one of the principal Secretaries of State, and so a Cabinet Minister.

your lordship mentions to have had from Count Königsegge. I think if the Emperor do not agree he will be ill advised, since he sees secured to him by this treaty what a successful war may not procure him in several campaigns. We long very impatiently for advices from thence and from Madrid, till when all we can say is mere speculation.

April 17, 1718.

. . . I must add a *private* line or two to my despatch. The fleet will certainly go to the Mediterranean. I carried Sir David [Dalrymple] to-day to the king, who will, I hope, gain his Majesty's good graces by his behaviour next session. The king was very gracious to him now. I believe you hear from Cathcart more than I can tell you of the young family.* I doubt they have thrown away the scabbard, and yet I am sure they are all to pieces among themselves. Even the man and wife have used very reproachful language to one another, but still they persevere. The book of Tully's Offices is for poor York [Bolingbroke], to whom I hope to write a line of comfort in a few posts. I have his interests as much at heart as my own, and faith I think the ministry are all for him. I have passed all your bills of extraordinaries, but pray send us some very wise and expensive intelligence. I hear Pulteney is coming over. Let me know in a private letter if any good is to be done with him, and how. . . .

(*Private.*)

London, *May* 11, 1718.

I begin to be terribly afraid of our treaty. The Abbé here declares he cannot sign without our consent to the garrisons of Spaniards in Tuscany. . . . As to our home affairs, I think they entirely wait the event of this foreign one, which makes the consequence of its breaking

* The family of the Prince of Wales.

off so much the more terrible. And I can assure you our young ones [the prince and princess] would be mightily pleased at such a scene of disorder. . . . Lord Chancellor Cowper's quitting the service has very much elevated some spirits, though 'tis certain he holds no correspondence with them, and I verily believe will behave himself with zeal for the king's service. This morning Lord Parker had the seals, and Sprat will be Chief Justice. Your friend the Duke of Argyle is entirely out with the prince. He no more goes to him than to the king. I have some intelligence that Walpole and the Speaker are not upon very good terms, but such is the nature of opposition, they can all unite to do mischief although they could not agree a week to do good. . . . You can't imagine how much Lady Cowper has been solicited to return into waiting. Other ladies have pretended to be sick, and desired her to attend for them, but hitherto my lord has prevented her. My opinion is that at long run "the mare will prove the best horse," for *we* are very desirous and high-spirited. Lord Marlborough lingers out; he has a lady who exposes and uses his name very frequently. I love him well enough to wish it were over; he is a melancholy memento.

COCKPIT, *June* 12, 1718.

The long memorial and letter my Lord Stanhope despatched to you yesterday leaves me but one subject to mention to you, and that is one which gives him a great deal of uneasiness. He is not without some fear that you may take his going to Paris amiss. I assure him 'tis impossible, and that you will be glad to have him there, that he may proceed to Madrid or return hither very speedily, and let the king know what he has to depend upon; for the juncture grows so nice, that delays begin to be as dangerous as any other measures. I can assure you, if it is possible for you to have any suspicion of a private or separate message, that he has no instruction but in common with you,

and that on Tuesday last there was no such thing as sending him dreamt of.

WHITEHALL, *June* 17, 1718.

There having been repeated informations that many seamen, his Majesty's subjects, have been and continue to be forced or seduced into the service of several states throughout Europe, I am commanded by his Majesty to recommend it to your Excellency now and at all other times, when you shall have notice of such practices carried on in the ports where you are, that you reclaim all such British seafaring men who have left the service of their country. To this end you shall represent in the most pressing terms, that as it has not been the custom here, even in the time of greatest action, to endeavour to prevail with the marines of any foreign prince or state to enter themselves on board our ships of war, and as it has been the constant practice, when they have been in the naval service of the crown, to discharge them upon application; so the king expects from the princes and states in amity with his Majesty that they will give the necessary orders to their officers that they do not endeavour for the future to prevail with any of the seamen of this kingdom to leave any merchant ship or vessel whereunto they may belong, in order to their entering into their service.

WHITEHALL, *June* 19, 1718.

His Majesty having, upon the expiration of the truce with the Emperor of Morocco, given orders that his ships of war should intercept and seize the vessels of all nations who are at peace with the Moors, as the most effectual means to bring them to reason, I am commanded to signify to your Excellency his Majesty's pleasure that you take the first opportunity of explaining to the Regent the justice and necessity of his Majesty's proceeding. And on this occasion your Excellency is to represent that whereas

several subjects of France, notwithstanding that crown is actually in war with the Moors, do nevertheless carry on a collusive trade with that nation, and thereby break in upon the measures taken by the king to induce the Emperor of Morocco to peace by distressing his subjects in their trade; his Majesty hopes, from the justice and friendship of his Royal Highness, that he will give the most effectual orders for restraining such indirect practices, and particularly that he will make a public declaration that he will withdraw his protection from all French merchants and others so offending, who shall happen to fall into the hands of his Majesty's subjects.

(*Private.*)

COCKPIT, *June* 29, 1718, O.S.

. . . Among many reasons which made, I think, Lord Stanhope's journey necessary, I hope he will be a witness of your expense and services, and (though I knew them before) there is a great difference between seeing and hearing from others. In a private letter he has wrote to Lord Sunderland, and which I read to the king, he uses these expressions, "I can never say enough of Lord Stair's services and behaviour." I see little Arbuthnot is not yet gone. I have given him a commission to buy me some books, and desire you would subscribe for me to Father Montfauçon, for I am making a library.

LONDON, *July* 30, 1718.

I need not recommend the bearer, Dr Strickland, to your favour nor your acquaintance; but I know your lordship will be pleased to learn that his Majesty would have you recommend him to the Regent for some Abbey or good church preferment. By encouraging this gentleman's project, the Regent may make a merit of procuring protection to the Roman Catholics at the Court of Great

Britain, since nothing but their own good behaviour can obtain it.*

WHITEHALL, *August* 1, 1718.

. . . I should be glad to know if M. Pecquet has accepted his ring, because it would be a rule for some of the under-secretaries in these offices to whom I understand there are presents designed. The Abbé Dubois has excused himself from taking any. The king designed him one of £3000 value. I reckon he will be with you towards Wednesday next, and the king is in great hopes to see such marks of his master's favour conferred upon him as will convince the world how much he approves of his negotiation. If your Excellency will constantly send to Lord Stanhope the originals, copies, or extracts of my letters, as you shall think fit, they will sufficiently apprise him of his Majesty's intentions, who hopes he will not be amused by a long negotiation at Madrid ; but if he finds nothing is to be done, that he will make the best of his way to Bayonne, and from thence despatch the most vigorous orders to Sir G. Byng. . . . The king would have you take all opportunities of letting the Abbé Dubois know how well he is satisfied with his conduct.†

(*Private.*)

COCKPIT, *August* 1, 1718.

This is an answer to your two last private letters. In both of them your lordship complains of the trust reposed in the Abbé Dubois, by which means it happens frequently that the Regent being sometimes instructed even before you

* Lord Sunderland wrote also to Lord Stair recommending Dr Strickland as one "who wishes well to the king's service ; that the king was extremely satisfied with his conversation, and approved of his design [?] as being useful, and deserving of encouragement."—London, Aug. 2, 1718—Stair Papers, vol. xiii., B.

† Mr Craggs, in compliment to the Abbé, accompanied him on his return journey to Paris as far as Dartford.—Letter to Lord Stair, August 3, 1718.

of what is done here, you necessarily appear for a time ignorant, and are often incapable of obtaining a point in which you might otherwise succeed, as, *verbi gratiâ*, in this demand of a declaration. My dear lord, I am sensible this is very true and also that it carries inconveniency with it, but one is frequently reduced to choose the least [inconveniences], and I will leave you to judge which are so. While Lord Stanhope was here, who had the sole management almost of this great negotiation, he trusted the Abbé with everything. As it was necessary to fortify this little man, who certainly means well, and who has no other bottom but ours to stand upon, he enabled him to show his court with what openness of heart the Regent's minister was treated, and he thought it necessary to engage him while he was here to be friendly when he should return. In this situation business passed to my hands, and I judged for the time the Abbé had to stay here I could not change them upon him, but continue the same frankness, of which I have perceived many good effects. On the other hand, I have observed him to be timorous, and, as you say, suspicious. Besides, he is wonderful alert: as soon as he picks up a bit of news he despatches a courier, and though I sometimes have despatched before him, his outride our English John Trotts, who are the worst in the world. But to give you a better reason than all this, were I to hide a thing from him to-day, all that would happen would be that he has means to know it to-morrow, and he would have a thousand suspicions to boot; whereas we preach nothing to one another but that we are to have one cause, one instruction, and one ministry. If you don't know that his point is to be secretary for the foreign affairs with a new council of regency, be assured of it, and I believe you will very readily join with him in this project. . . . 'Tis plain from all the Cardinal's discourse he only means to gain time; and God send, what with Lord Stanhope's journey, our fears of being not supported, and our caveats in our instructions, the Spaniards do not take Sicily, and we

do not destroy their fleet. It was a proper consideration whether we should send a squadron, but I think none at all whether it should act. Our great article is the expense, for the trade is gone already; and the expense once made, it would be well to show somewhat for it. I would be as cautious as another in undertaking, but this mad cardinal shows with a vengeance what vigour will do in the execution.

(*Private.*)

HAMPTON COURT, *August* 29, 1718.

. . . The news of this victory [Admiral Byng's at Cape Passaro] has put a new spirit in our friends, and cast no small damp upon our enemies; but it is wonderful how much some people who have the greatest interest in the success are dejected with it. Lord Roseberry has got £1000 at your recommendation. Your cousin the President's son will also obtain his point, but I doubt it will cost his Majesty £500 to settle it. I am afraid there will be difficulty to provide for Lady Stair's page in the army, because of the House of Commons' Address, which will extend to your nephews, except in the Guards, where I will take the first opportunity to recommend them. . . . As soon as we hear of the peace with the Czar [and the King of Sweden] being entirely broke off, we have thoughts of reducing 4000 men, which will certainly be useless when we have nothing to apprehend from abroad, but will make naval expenses more palatable, as they are likely to become more necessary.* Sir David is gone to the Bath, I think in good humour. He has but one fault; he sticks a little too much to little personal wrangles, and he is apt to take, out of good-nature, people under his wing who are not our best friends. I cannot help being somewhat of our new Lord Chancellor's mind [Lord Maccles-

* In the ensuing Session the army was reduced by this number—viz., six regiments of dragoons and six of foot.

field], who told the other day one who asked some preferment for one of his relations, saying he had never done any harm,—"I pray," said he, "has he done any good? and if he has, is there nobody that has done more? When we have rewarded all those who have taken pains to serve the king, we will think of them who have done nothing against him; and then if there is any thing remains, we will try and soften our enemies." . . .

HAMPTON COURT, *September* 1, 1718.

. . . I forgot in my former letter to return an answer to what your Excellency wrote of M. Pecquet's refusal of the ring. I must own I thought that matter had been understood on all sides as a right thing, that the king might give such a mark of his satisfaction for the pains that gentleman had taken in his office. It is true that persons in public offices should avoid receiving clandestine presents, but when 'tis with the approbation of their masters and principals, they are tokens of the mutual friendship of their courts, and there is so much affectation in refusing them that I should be apt to believe that he in such a case who refuses a small one offered him publicly as a civility, expected a great one privately as a bribe. However, if the Regent will not bid him leave off playing the fool and wear the king's ring, I will, upon another notice from your Excellency, ask his Majesty what he pleases you should do with it. . . .

Mr Secretary Craggs to Earls Stair and Stanhope.

HAMPTON COURT, *September* 4, 1718, O.S.

MY LORDS,—I am to acknowledge your letter, my Lord Stair, of the 11th (N.S.), and yours, my Lord Stanhope, of the 10th inst. from Paris, by which his Majesty is very glad to find your Excellency is safely arrived there [from Spain], and would have you continue there till such time as you

see what part the Regent takes in his foreign and domestic affairs. In all probability you will not have occasion to take such another journey very soon, and therefore his Majesty would have you make the best use you can of this. And having observed the good effect both your Excellencies' joint endeavours have had for his service, as also that you, Lord Stair, have acquainted me in some of your late despatches how earnestly you desired Lord Stanhope's return, in order to concert and support certain measures you judged necessary for his Majesty's service, the king is pleased that you, Lord Stanhope, should remain at Paris so long as you, Lord Stair, shall judge it necessary, to help and forward your endeavours. . . .

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

HAMPTON COURT, *September* 18, 1718, O.S.

By letters of the 24th and 25th inst. N.S. from your Excellency and Lord Stanhope, we learn the acceptable news of a change in the French Ministry, and particularly of the Abbé Dubois being made Secretary of State, upon which I heartily congratulate with your Excellency.* Now that Lord Stanhope has advised Sir G. Byng (very rightly I think) to stay in the Mediterranean himself, I am afraid he won't care to part with many ships. Few people are willing to lessen their own command, and we have nothing to be concerned about at home but the single article of expense.

The Same to the Same.

September 23, 1718.

. . . Since I finished my letter I have occasion to add a postscript on occasion of a piece of news I learned just now, which may confirm to you how well the ministers

* Mr Craggs's congratulation must have gone entirely on public considerations, for Stair and Dubois (notwithstanding their civil letters) were personally distasteful to each other.

agree with your politics; still you will find it is in my way of thinking that people should be received who will come into good measures, but that bargains should not be made with them. Since my predecessor, Pulteney, left England, there have been different accounts of him, and may be all very true. Sometimes it has been said that he threatens extremely, at others that he'll stay abroad; but the last and the best is that he has wrote a letter to his father-in-law, confessing his mistake and his passion in taking so unkind a part to the king. . . . I am desired to give you this hint, that you may cultivate it according to your discretion. The case is this in a few words: If his reason and his honour bid him not persevere in distressing a good king and a kind master to him, and he will, instead of seeking peevish occasions to oppose, look out for honest ones to serve him, he may depend on all the weight of the ministry to reconcile him; for indeed all of them together could not stir the king, till he seems penitent, to make any advance or promise towards him. . . . Use this with your wonted prudence, and be pleased to inform me if you think any thing is to be done, and what.

HAMPTON COURT, *September* 25, 1718.

. . . The Duchess of Roxburgh is dead, and his Grace desires me to officiate till his grief will give him leave to act again. I tell you this because I have received two letters from two of the king's counsel who went down to prosecute several of the rebels who are returned openly. The jury has brought them in *ignoramus*. Upon my soul, it is a shameful proceeding, and I wish our friend Sir David [the Lord Advocate], whom I love as well as you, has not out of good-nature, nationality, and taking a bottle of wine now and then with some honest lad who has interceded for them, contributed a little to it.* The men are two stran-

* This supposition of Mr Craggs is not at all improbable, more especially as Sir David Dalrymple's dislike of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer, sent

gers, and therefore perfectly disengaged from the idle disputes between him and the Justice-Clerk. After all, why should he not be there to push on such prosecutions with vigour? Let this remain between your lordship and me, for I would not disoblige him; but as I understand the matter, this is not right. I send you copies of the letters, which is all I understand or know of the thing, and I should be glad to conceive it wrong. You see this is talking with you in the utmost intimacy; pray don't mention me to Sir David.

We have all the prospect of a good session. . . . I hear Walpole himself approves Byng. Doddington makes great professions. Lady Cowper says the king's affairs must be supported. Pulteney talks several ways. Jack Smith will be right. The Princess is become very friendly to Lady Portland. The cue of the young family is to be quiet if they may be unmolested. The Bishop of Bristol says the battle is a good one. The Tories rail at the deserters, and the deserters at one another. All this may change in an hour, but it stands so now.

September 25, 1718.

I am to thank your lordship for your last favour with the enclosed from York [Bolingbroke]. He complains that Walten is not yet admitted to come over. Surely there is some mistake, for our ministers understand that your lordship has the king's directions to furnish him with a passport, and expect him every day. What you say of our foreign affairs is very true; they give us great and good hopes, and I am pleased with them for a personal reason —though that should never prevail in such cases—for you

into Scotland with its train of English professional men to try absent persons for treason, was shared by nearly all his countrymen north of the Tweed. Mr Craggs was mistaken in saying that the Jacobites prosecuted before this Commission had "returned openly," there being nothing to show that they had returned from the Continent at all.

are thought to have done great services in them, and more are expected from you. As to the domestic ones, my dear lord, I agree entirely with you that the king should stretch out his hand to every body that will come in, and I will tell you that he does so, and with very good success. Now people see him determined, they begin to stagger, not knowing what public handle to lay hold on.* They can't tell what to oppose, for as to the personal one, certainly the king stands on firmer ground there than any man. . . . I repeat to you again, there have been many difficulties; there are some still. The nature of such a case—a prince deserted by a shoal of servants without one public reason (for I never yet heard one)—the design that was framed—the persons at the head of it—the humour of this country—and in short (to speak plain), that case, so very visible, of numbers of people who were waiting the event to declare themselves, and taking all handles to lay in their claim of objections—made it necessary to struggle. I am sure I embarked not so much believing we should as that we ought to succeed. I think there is no reason to God or man to justify the carriage of these men to the best master and the worthiest gentleman I ever knew, and I now begin to believe he will be supported by success. But set me so right in your opinion as to be assured I think it the rightest measure on earth to hold out one's hands to all people, but in short they must come in to the king's measures, while they are right ones for the public; and upon my word, he told me himself but two days ago, in these words: "Je veux toujours recompenser ceux qui feront bien, mais ceux qui voudront braver se trouveront éloignés de compte avec moi. Qu'est que c'est et de quoi plaint-on?" On the whole, I'll make you this one remark: I observe that many people begin to find out that the ministers are very able, dexterous people. If they had miscarried, they would have passed for desperate madmen. As to my quitting this

* Mr Walpole, a short time after this, accepted office along with Lord Townshend.

employment, I'll open my heart to you as a friend. I look upon myself to have taken a great stride for me already. However, I think the world bears it without any extraordinary envy. If I can acquit myself of it with some ability as well as honesty, if I find I can make a useful Parliament man, which I very much doubt, after I have continued some two or three years more where I am, if I like the court and the court likes me, I should be glad to rise higher. At present nothing could move me to put myself in a more glaring light.* . . .

[Upon the accession, in October 1718, of the king of Sicily (afterwards of Sardinia) to the Alliance, the Sardinian ministers started various points of difficulty as to delivering up the places still held by them in Sicily and as to the contingent to be furnished by them.]

October 30, 1718.

. . . Their master is so used to get by every treaty he makes, and is, indeed, such a bargainer, that he cannot swallow this, which only confirms to him some former acquisitions, gives him one in present which he does not think equal to what he loses, although by the fault of Spain, and promises a great reversion, which he does not take for ready money. To a prince less used to be getting, this would appear a good bargain in the king of Sardinia's situation.

Cockpit, *Nov.* 27, 1718, o.s.

The complaint you make to me of the Abbé Dubois contains many circumstances which I knew again very well upon having them repeated, since several of the very same nature befel me in conversations with him in England. But I must do him the justice to say he appeared to me

* Mr Secretary Craggs pointed to a peerage, but his views in that direction were fatally arrested by an attack of small-pox in 1720.

always honest in the main, well-meaning, and more sincere than is usual to French ministers; but his fears and confusions do sometimes so *embrouiller* him that, joined to a very passionate disposition, I have sometimes thought him perfectly wild. However, we worked well with him here, and, take him with all his faults, which are terrible ones, I do not know whom you have to supply his place that will be so hearty for our interests; and we should find a wide difference between the effects of his doubts and irresolution and the determined malice and ill-will of another. Therefore, I think we must do so well as we can with him.

Our affairs at home proceed with the utmost ease, and I have not in my memory seen a session where the enemy had more entirely yielded. If there should be any tergiversation in France, that might embarrass us extremely here, and give them new spirits. I think our old acquaintance Mr Walpole's head is heated. He divided t'other day not to give the king any money to keep up his troops. Pulteney left him there and joined us, but between you and I, he has behaved himself most poorly. The prince's family joined with Mr Walpole on this excellent occasion, and now they are so frighted at what they have done that they run about saying there is a design to attack the £100,000 per annum, and beg the Tories and others to stand by them. What I wrote to you about the two brothers [Argyle and Islay] goes on, but they are only told that if they will behave themselves well, such a conduct may probably reconcile them. Besides the land and malt-tax, which we voted in a day, we shall raise about £700,000 more towards clearing the deficiencies of former years. . . . I fancy we shall at last get Whitworth to go to Berlin. By the last letters from Petersburg to the German ministers, the Czar now makes the same professions to the king which his resident did here to us. So you see the good effect of sending somebody there.

(*Signed*) J. Craggs.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

*The Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Stair.**

LONDON, *July* 26, 1718.

I RETURN your lordship many thanks for the honour of your letter, and do most heartily congratulate with you upon the conclusion of our treaty; for as it is the greatest thing that has been done in any age, so it is chiefly owing to your abilities and indefatigable zeal in the king's service. I reckon Lord Stanhope may be at Madrid by this time, where I can't but think he will have success; for though the Cardinal has shown he has a good warm projecting head of his own, yet one can hardly imagine him mad enough to stand out against the whole world, especially since the peace with the Turks is now actually concluded.

I have spoke to the king in relation to Lord Roseberry. His Majesty does remember what your lordship mentions about him, and has allowed me to tell him that the king will take the first opportunity of doing something for him. As to Sir James Campbell, I never heard of any intention of putting him out; I am sure, if I had, knowing his relation to you, I should have prevented it. There has been, and yet is, a thought of changing him from the Customs to the Excise, where the salary is the same and the trouble much less. This thought has arisen from some differences that have happened of late at the Board of Customs, and also from the intolerable frauds that are committed in those duties in North Britain, for the redressing of which unani-

* Stair Papers, vol. xiii., A.

mity and vigour at that board, and skill in that particular province, is absolutely necessary. However, if that remove is not agreeable to you, let me know it, and it shall not be; for I beg you to believe that both out of inclination as well as duty and regard to the king's service, I shall be glad of all occasions of showing with how much truth, &c.

P.S.—The Abbé Dubois leaves us next week. I hope when he is in France you will be able to persuade the Regent not to leave himself and his affairs in the hands of his enemies. If he does, all this great work will, I fear, moulder away.

Admiral Sir George Byng to Mr Secretary Craggs.

Barfleur, off Syracuse, *Aug.* 1718.

Sir,—Enclosed is a list of the Spanish fleet they had before Messina; those marked against the column who struck to the English are now prizes with me. When I am joined by the ships that are wanting from the fleet [viz., Captain Walton's ships], and who, I imagine, are now in Syracuse with their prizes, I think to send Vice-Admiral Cornwall in the Argyle with all of them to Port Mahon, to be secured there until his Majesty's pleasure be further known, putting on shore on the island of Sicily the admirals and commanding officers with the very worst of their men, to ease the charge of keeping prisoners. Some of their men will be wanting to help to navigate the prizes to Mahon; and those shall be the sailors, that the Spaniards may not have the use of them again this summer. I shall send with Vice-Admiral Cornwall, to escort the prizes to Mahon, eight or nine ships of the king's who have received most damage, and direct their being re-fitted and cleaned there, that they may be ready for further service.

If Spain should resolve to come to a rupture on what has happened, I pray leave to acquaint you that their fleet from the West Indies are expected at Cadiz by the latter end of

September. If you please, sir, to move his Majesty to know his pleasure what he would have done further against the Spanish fleet or ships of Spain, should any of them be met with. I desire I may be instructed how I am to behave myself when I meet with any of them.

I am thinking to send to the Marquis de Lede to offer again a suspension of arms—nay, even to give up their ships again, on condition they will withdraw their army from Sicily, in which case I shall offer them the assistance of our master's fleet. I pray I may have instructions despatched to me by a messenger to Naples as soon as possible. If the king shall be pleased that my son may be sent to me again, when you have determined more particularly what to do with relation to Spain, he will be of very great use to me, speaking both Italian and French, and I can better confide in him than in a stranger. Excuse the liberty I take, but having no other intention than the king's service, hope you will pardon, sir, yours, &c.*

Sir James Agnew, Bart., to the Earl of Stair.

LOCHNAW, *Jan.* 31, 1718.

I presume to give your lordship the trouble of this in behalf of my second son, Patrick, who hath studied the law for some time, and hath got a very liberal education for fitting him for that business, having studied the law for some years at home, and went thereafter to Poictou, in France, where he plyed the law pretty close for two years. Since his coming home he had still inclination to prosecute that business, and to enter advocate, but is very much discouraged from that by reason that there are already too many of that profession; for there is not one-third of that employment that are able to gain their bread by it, and even of that number the most part are such as have good estates, and are able to live upon their own till such time as they come into business; and, indeed, they cannot propose

* Stair Papers.

to come into business for a good many years after their entering. Your lordship knows very well my circumstances; I having a numerous family, cannot now, after so expensive an education given to my son Patrick, though I were never so much inclined, provide him suitably as he ought till such time as he may reasonably propose to come into business; and for that reason my son hath, with my approbation, turned his thoughts towards the following of the military. I should be very glad to have your lordship's approbation of this design; and as it is my son's inclination to serve in your lordship's regiment, so I persuade myself he will be acceptable to your lordship. I earnestly beg that your lordship would add this obligation to the many favours you have honoured me with, of letting my son have the offer of purchasing the first cornetcy that falls in your lordship's regiment at the price you may have from any other. And as this will be an extraordinary mark of the continuance of your lordship's favour to me, so it shall be ever acknowledged with the utmost gratitude, according to my poor ability and occasions of serving your lordship, or any whom you are concerned in.

My wife and I beg that our most humble service may be acceptable to the Countess of Stair and your lordship.*

Countess-dowager of Stair to the Earl of Stair.

EDINBURGH, *April* 15, 1718.

DEAR JOHN,—The president hath wrote to you our full answer as to all your projects ye have here in purchasing of lands and other things. . . . I have been just now clearing all your accompts, of which I shall send you an abbreviate very quickly, but could not do it now, there being so many papers. And I am most earnest that ye should commit the trust of managing your affairs to some more capable of it. For though I cannot say I have been sick, yet I have been very much dispirited of late. I have spoke to

* Stair Papers, vol. xvi.

the president several times of the same, and did propose your brother, the colonel, but we have some fears he will not undertake it. Therefore ye may consider if ye will put him in with Mr Robert Dalrymple; he is now put in the list of the commissioners for managing your affairs. It is not for want of good will to serve you, but a real sense of inability makes me to decline it. And I have now put your accounts in the best order I can, by which you will see, when they come to your hands, that your Galloway rent always rises to be above £1000; that I charge myself with, beside what Mr Andrew Ross pays of ministers' stipends, public burdens, and other incident charges. Therefore I desire that ye would appoint the president and Sir David, and any other ye please to add, to revise the accompts, and appoint somebody else to keep the accompts. Give my service to your lady, and tell her I saw her sister Lady Jean well this morning. And all your other friends here are well. And I heartily wish you the conduct of the good Spirit of God in all your affairs. My dear son, adieu.

Major Skene to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *April* 18, 1718.*

. . . If your lordship think fit to deal in the stocks, I beg you'll be pleased to let me know what length I may go in buying, and at what advantage I should sell. As to buying the bear's skin it is dangerous, for notwithstanding your lordship may be certain that the affairs in Europe will in a short time produce a general peace, yet unless I can buy for such a time as your lordship thinks this turn of affairs may be so generally known as to leave no room to doubt, so that stories trumped up in the alley will have no credit to influence the stocks either as to rising or falling—then, indeed, in that case money may be got. But to buy for a week, ten days, or so, the brokers—bears and bulls, as

* Stair Papers. Major Skene had served with Lord Stair in the late war, and subsequently managed his affairs in London.

they call them—are able to rise and fall the stocks in spite of any intelligence. But if money could be raised so as to take the stocks and wait the rise, there would be no doubt a certain and considerable profit. But at this juncture money is not easily raised, every one keeping up their money, waiting for a catch. Mr Middleton told me Charteris offered 10 per cent for money to pay for his stock, and could not have it. It is true few are now willing to deal with Charteris. But as to dealing in stocks so as to know what loss you can be at, there are two ways—viz., that they call the "Put," and the "Refusal." The Put is, when one expects the stocks to fall they will give two guineas per cent above the market price to have liberty in one, two, or three months' time, as you can agree, to put so much stock upon you at the then market price, and whatever it is under the 2 per cent premium at the time agreed, you have so much profit. If it rises, in consequence you lose your premium and no more. The Refusal is just the reverse; they will be obliged to deliver so much stock at such a price for a certain premium and a certain price agreed. If the stock rises, then you call for the stock; if it falls, you lose what you gave and no more.

P.S.—I am not certain what is sold this night, not having met with brokers; for I would be gladly off for fear of loss, the stocks seeming rather to fall than to rise, and for that reason I gave orders to sell.

Sir (or Mr) Gilbert Heathcote to the Earl of Stair.

London, *May* 22, 1718.*

My next neighbour, Mr Harrison, telling me that his brother-in-law, Mr Staples Steare, did design to go to Paris, and so on to Strasbourg, and being told that I have the honour to be known to your Excellency, pressed me to give him two or three lines to you, of which upon occasion he might make use to procure your protection. I told him

* This and the next letter are in the Stair Papers, vol. xvii.

such a letter was needless, his language showing what he was, and none that spoke it ever failed on it. Ay, but, says my neighbour, there are a great many very bad ones speak that language, so pray give me your testimonial that he and his friends are true and hearty good subjects to King George; this I could not deny, and so could not avoid giving you the trouble of this letter, which I beg of your Excellency to excuse, and 'twill add to the former obligations you have laid upon, &c.

Sir (or Mr) J. Molesworth to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *June* 23, 1718.

The person who will have the honour of presenting this to your lordship was recommended to me by the late Bishop of Londonderry, who was very capable of judging and very cautious in giving his opinion of the merits of men. He informed me that the bearer was educated in the University of Dublin, and had followed his studies with good success, particularly the mathematics; but being obliged by the persecution of his kindred to quit that country, purely for his being the only Protestant of the family, his lordship had furnished him with means to come over hither in hopes of being provided for in some office, particularly that of trade. No vacancy happening, or being likely to happen there, the young man is forced to accept of his relation's offers to assist him with money, on condition that he will go and finish his studies at Paris. They hope by these means to reclaim him (as they call it) to the Popish religion; and he apprehends that they may use violence in case he should continue firm in his present resolution. He therefore makes it his humble request to your Excellency that you will please to admit him into your service, at least nominally, which will effectually protect him from the villainous devices of priests. As he is a subject of Britain, and that his proposal seems to carry with it no expense or other inconveniency to your Excellency, I hope you will have no difficulty in granting it.

Sir Hew Dalrymple (President of the Session) to the Earl of Stair.

EDINBURGH, *July* 22, 1718.

. . . I congratulate your lordship on the success of your negotiation [of the Quadruple Alliance], and on the honour of having contributed so much to it by your prudent conduct. I hope it shall soon be followed by a general peace abroad. God grant us concord and unity amongst ourselves at home, and then we shall have nothing to fear. Your lordship has been pleased to take care of my children as much as I could have done, whereby they and I are under the same obligations as if every thing had succeeded. But it is visible enough there is no great inclination to do for your friends. I say not this to occasion any trouble to your lordship for them or me, more than you think will be convenient or successful. If your lordship have opportunity to be at court, I am satisfied your presence will be more effectual, and set all right. In that case I shall presume to beg your lordship's advice and assistance with relation to myself. I want an honourable retreat from the noise and weight of business, in which I have laboured from my youth, and which I find heavy for my old age and tender constitution. I am not to complain, but I have no favours to buy off. I have been longer president of the Session than my father or any other since the institution of the College of Justice. I never was able to do or procure anything for any of my children or friends. It is by your lordship's means I expect an honourable exit, and shall be entirely directed by your advice, and I do not intend to be uneasy to my friends or myself.*

* Stair Papers, vol. xvii. Sir Hew Dalrymple was appointed Lord President of the Court of Session in 1698. There was as yet no fixed rule in Scotland as to the retiring allowances for judges; and the president, being refused a retiring salary on the ground of age, was allowed to die in harness at the advanced age of 85, in the year 1737.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS XIV & XV.

Field-Marshal the Duke of Berwick to the Earl of Stair.

BORDEAUX, *April* 26, 1719.*

ENFIN, Milord, le projet sur le Passage vient de s'exécuter. Le Marquis de Tilly s'est rendu maître du port et des forts. L'on a trouvé sur les chantiers six gros vaisseaux de guerre qu'on détruit actuellement, n'étant point en état d'être lancés à la mer. L'on a aussi trouvé une prodigieuse quantité de mâts et autres bois. L'on prétend qu'il y en auroit pour construire vingt vaisseaux. Je les fais embarquer au Passage pour les transporter à Bayonne. L'on a fait 200 hommes prisonniers, avec 20 officiers. L'on a aussi pris deux drapeaux. Il y avoit dans le Fort quinze pièces de canon. Six cent hommes de la garnison de St Sebastian ont voulu venir au secours des forts, mais nos troupes les ont reconduits à grands coups de fusils. Je ne doute pas, Milord, que vous ne soyez fort aise d'apprendre cette nouvelle.

The Earl of Stair to the Abbé Dubois.

PARIS, *Jan.* 2, 1719, N.S.

Votre Excellence sçait mieux que personne les soins et les efforts unis lequels ont été employés inutilement par la Grande Bretagne et par la France pour porter le roi d'Espagne à rétablir la paix de l'Europe, laquelle sa

* Stair Papers, vol. xxii. This letter relates to the operations of the French army under the Duke of Berwick in the north of Spain.

Majesté Catholique venoit de troubler injustement par l'attaque de la Sardaigne, ensuite par celle de la Sicile, et en dernier lieu par la saisie des vaisseaux et effets des sujets du roi mon maître, contre la foi solennelle des traités; et que les offres les plus avantageux et les plus honorables à l'Espagne ont été rejettés avec hauteur. Les ménagements et l'indulgence qu'on a euts pour le roi d'Espagne n'ont pas produit d'autre effet sur son conseil que de le faire accroire qu'il pouvoit outrager impunément tous les voisins de l'Espagne et de l'encourager de rallumer le feu de la guerre par toute l'Europe. Pour cette fin, si peu Chrêtienne, la cour d'Espagne ne s'est pas contentée de former des intrigues en plusieurs cours pour faire des ligues dans l'intention de troubler la paix de toute l'Europe; elle a même tramé des conspirations pour bouleverser l'état, et pour allumer la guerre civile dans les royaumes de ses voisins et de ses meilleurs amis. Celle qu'elle avoit tramée en France vient heureusement à être découverte ; et on a raison de croire que c'est dans l'intention de faire réussir des intrigues de la même nature dans la Grande Bretagne qu'elle a invité en dernier lieu le Sieur Butler, ci-devant Duc d'Ormond, de passer en Espagne.

Dans cette conjoncture le roi mon maître, touché de l'injuste violence et des deprédations exercées contre ses sujets, et pour prévenir les malheurs dont il voyoit ses états et les états de ses alliés et de ses voisins menacés, a senti qu'il falloit avoir recours à d'autres moyens que ceux de la négociation, qui avoient été jusqu'à présent employés si inutilement, et qu'il n'y avoit que les forces unies des armes des alliés capable d'ouvrir les yeux au roi d'Espagne, et lui faire voir les conseils pernicieux de son ministre ambitieux.

Sa Majesté ayant déjà communiqué ses sentiments sur ce sujet a M. le Duc d'Orleans, qui les a approuvés, j'ai à présent ordre du roi mon maître a notifier à son Altesse Royale qu'en conséquence des susdites délibérations, le roi a déclaré la guerre à l'Espagne Mercredi dernier le 28me

Decembre ; et j'ai ordre du roi d'exhorter son Altesse Royale de remplir les obligations du *Traité de Londres, 2de Août dernier*, et particulièrement celles contractés par le 3me article secret du même traité, et de prier son Altesse Royale, en conformité des dites obligations, de déclarer la guerre à l'Espagne pour concourir avec sa Majesté dans la bonne fin et intention qu'elle se propose de faire consentir le roi Catholique à rétablir la paix et la tranquillité de l'Europe, selon le plan du susdit traité de Londres.*

Earl Stanhope to the Abbé Dubois.

March 30, 1719.

Je ne sçaurois assez vous dire, Monsieur, combien le roi est sensible à la vigilance et à l'attention de votre Excellence à nous avertir si promptement et si exactement des desseins et des mouvements de nos ennemis, et à la cordialité avec laquelle son Altesse Royale est allée audevant de tout ce que sa Majesté pouvoit désirer d'elle à cet égard. Le roi devoit sans doute ne se promettre pas moins de votre affection, mais vous savez vous y prendre à la faire sentir doublement à nos amis et à redoubler aussi leur reconnaissance. Je ne m'étendrai pas sur les dispositions que nous avons faites ici tant par terre que par mer pour prévenir ou pour repousser l'invasion des Espagnols ; Lord Stair et M. Craggs en auront déjà amplement informé votre Excellence. Mais les soins de sa Majesté ne se sont pas bornés à la sureté de ses propres royaumes. Comme vous poussiez soupçonner que l'armement Espagnol peut aussi être destiné à envahir quelque partie de la France, le roi a enjoint à ses amiraux d'y apporter toute l'attention possible, et au cas que cet armement approchât de vos côtes, d'y accourir incessamment, et de les défendre avec la

* Stair Papers, vol. xix., A. The letter that follows (Stair Papers, vol. xxii.) is in answer to the Abbé Dubois' letter of information as to the Cadiz expedition referred to in the Note, p. 500, of Stanhope's History of England, vol. i., chap. 10.

même diligence et la même rigueur que les nôtres ; et s'il arrivoit que, malgré toutes vos précautions et les nôtres, les Espagnols fissent une descente en France, son Altesse Royale doit compter sur tout le sécours et toute l'assistance qu'il sera dans le pouvoir de sa Majesté de lui donner tant en vaisseaux qu'en troupes. De quel côté que les Espagnols puissent se tourner, j'espère qu'avec l'aide de Dieu nous parerons assez aisement le coup qu'il voudront nous porter ; mais nous ne devons pas nous arrêter à nous garantir seulement de leurs insultes si nous ne voulons pas y demeurer exposés continuellement, et il faut pousser le Cardinal Alberoni chez lui pour l'empêcher de porter ses vues au dehors ; et sa Majesté voit avec une satisfaction singulière que M. le Régent entre dans ses sentiments, et se dispose si bien à les mettre en œuvre. Ce que Milord Stair vient de nous mander à cet égard me rappelle ce dont j'ai eu l'honneur d'entretenir et son Altesse Royale et votre Excellence pendant mon séjour à Paris. Et comme vous paroissiez le goûter alors, je vais vous le rétracer présentement avec la même confiance et d'autant plus librement que les ordres du roi me le préscrivent. [Lord Stanhope then proceeds at great length to submit to the Abbé Dubois and the Regent his views as to what should be the conduct of the war on the part of the French in the north of Spain.]

*Earl Stanhope to the Abbé Dubois.**

A Londres, *ce* 18 *Décembre*, v.s., 1719.

Rien ne pouvoit nous arriver de plus affligeant que la malheureuse animosité qui s'est élevée entre Milord Stair et M. Law : nous en sommes d'autant plus en peine, que Milord Stair nous l'apprend lui-même et s'en fait un mérite. Il attribue à M. Law beaucoup de mauvaise volonté contre nous ; d'avoir fait à S.A.R. des rapports aussi contraire à

* This letter is printed in the Appendix to the first volume of Earl Stanhope's England.

la vérité qu'à notre amitié ; et d'avoir tenu à beaucoup de gens des discours comme s'il était le maître de notre crédit, et résolu de le détruire. Je vous avoue, Monsieur, que je ne saurais m'imaginer que ce soient là les sentimens de M. Law ; je sais combien il s'est intéressé au traité qui devoit affermir notre union, et qu'il a regardé l'union des deux coronnes comme la base de ses projets. Les suites doivent l'avoir confirmé dans cette opinion ; et s'il lui est échappé quelques paroles qui pouvaient faire croire qu'il commence à envisager les choses autrement, je suis persuadé que ce n'était que pour piquer Milord Stair personnellement, et à nul autre dessein ; car s'il en avoit réellement contre notre crédit, et qu'il fût en état de pouvoir lui nuire, sans nuire au sien propre, il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'il eût voulu nous en avertir. Mais vous, Monsieur, qui êtes sur les lieux, pourrez mieux juger que nous de ce différend. Et telle est notre confiance dans votre Excellence, que le roi ne balance point de vous en faire arbitre, et ne veut avoir recours qu'à vos soins et à votre prudence pour y trouver le remède nécessaire, soit en rectifiant les idées de M. Law, si elles pouvoient tendre à notre préjudice, soit en retirant Milord Stair, si le mal ne vient que de ses défauts personnels, comme nous n'avons que trop sujet de le supposer. Que votre Excellence examine donc ce démêlé et ses sources ; qu'elle songe aux moyens de le composer ou de prévenir, du moins, qu'il n'ait de fâcheuses suites pour nos deux maîtres. Qu'elle en consulte S.A.R. Et si vous trouvez que le seul rappel de Milord Stair puisse y mettre fin, dites le nous franchement ; et je vous promet que le roi le lui fera expédier aussitôt que cette séance de notre Parlement sera finie.

The Same to the Same.

A Londres, *Dec.* 18, 1719.

Quelque importante que soit la nouvelle de l'éloignement du Cardinal Alberoni, le roi est encore plus touché de la

manière dont son Altesse Royale la lui a apprise. Cet évènement est sans doute très heureux, et fait honneur aux puissances qui se sont opposées aux vues si dangereuses d'un turbulent ministre ; mais cet évènement, qui paroit être un présage de paix, n'aura les heureuses suites que nous devons naturellement en attendre que par la même union et la même fermeté qui l'ont produit. Aussi le roi voit avec une satisfaction sensible que les succès y confirment S.A.R. de plus en plus. Si vous voulez, Monsieur, nous attribuer la *gloire* du projet, celle de l'exécution vous est justement due. Et sans votre courage et votre constance notre prévoyance eût été inutile.

Après que le roi d'Espagne vient d'écarter l'instrument d'une guerre que nous n'avons entreprise que pour notre sureté reciproque et celle de l'Europe, il semble nous approcher d'une bonne paix, qui est notre unique but et à laquelle la ministère du Cardinal Alberoni auroit été un obstacle invincible. Il auroit plutôt consenti à la destruction de l'Espagne qu'aux conditions de paix que nous pouvions lui accorder. Quelques avantageuses qu'elles soient au roi Catholique, et quelque peine que nous ayons eue à les ménager pour lui, ce fougueux ministre les a rejetées avec mépris, comme trop peu proportionnées à ses extravagans desseins, lesquelles son ambition ne pouvoit lui permetter d'abandonner, lors même que des mesures prises à tems lui avoient ôte toute espérance de pouvoir réussir, et avoient tourné tous les perils contre lui. Nous esperions avec fondement que tant d'efforts vainement epuisés, et tant de pertes souffertes sans nécessité, ouvriroient enfin au roi d'Espagne les yeux sur des conseils si imprudens et si pernicieux ; et comme il vient de s'en délivrer, il est à espérer qu'il aura pris des résolutions conformes à nos souhaits, et que ses peuples et les nôtres touchent au moment de s'en ressentir. Nous attendons avec impatience les suites de ces résolutions. Le roi d'Espagne sait les conditions sur lesquelles les puissances alliés peuvent traiter avec lui, et le temps pendant lequel il peut y être

admis ; et nous nous flattons que s'étant défait du Cardinal, S.M. Catholique ne tardera plus à y donner les mains. Le roi félicite son Altesse Royale d'autant meilleur cœur sur ces heureuses apparences d'une prompte et solide paix ; que ce qu'il désire le plus c'est d'en partager la gloire avec elle.

M. Destouches aura fait part à votre Excellence de la lettre (Nov. 15, 1719) que le Cardinal Alberoni m'a écrite par M. de Seissau, ses propositions que celui-ci m'a données par écrit, et de la conversation qui j'ai eue avec lui. J'envoye présentement à V.E. copie de la lettre que j'ai écrite hier par ordre du roi à M. de Seissau, qui est déjà parti d'ici accompagné d'un officier du roi pour se rembarquer à Falmouth.—Je suis, &c.,

STANHOPE.*

M. de St Saphorin to Earl Stanhope.

VIENNA, *June* 14, 1719.

. . . Le projet qui concerne le Pape satisferoit cette cour si elle croyoit que cette idée qu'elle a elle-même proposée pût encore avoir lieu, mais le Pape s'est tellement démasqué dans toute sa conduite par rapport à la Sobieski, que ceux même des ministres de l'empereur qui étoient les plus disposés à juger bien de lui sont obligés de convenir qu'il n'y a eu dans toute sa conduite qu'un tissu d'obliquités, et que l'on échouera toujours vers lui par la voie de la négociation, si elle n'est soutenue par la force et si l'on ne lui inspire de la crainte. Mais il est plus aisé de persuader les ministres d'ici que leur saint Père n'est qu'un fripon, qu'il n'est facile de les disposer à agir véritablement en conséquence. L'un a des fils, l'autre des neveux, que l'on veut pourvoir de bénéfices ecclésiastiques, et l'on a besoin pour cet effet de la cour de Rome. Chacun des ministres, piqué contre le Pape, voudroit volontiers qu'on le fit repentir de ses obliquités, mais aucun ne voudroit être accusé à la

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiii.

cour de Rome d'avoir été le promoteur des vives résolutions. Il n'y a plus ici un Premier ministre Janseniste qui n'ayant rien à demander au Pape, fit donner à la cour de Rome toutes les mortifications qu'elle souffrit l'année 1708 à cause d'un bref injuste qu'elle avoit lancé contre les Jansenistes. C'est du Prince de Sales dont je veux parler à votre Excellence. A la vérité, le Prince Eugène n'est nullement ami du Pape, mais, de crainte qu'on ne lui attribuât de le pousser par irreligion, il le ménage ; et les contes de Zinzendorf et de Staremberg ont des fils ecclésiastiques. Cependant, je ne désespère pas tout à fait que si l'on pousse bien la chose, l'on ne dispose cette cour à prendre un parti vigoureux contre le Pape pour l'obliger à donner, malgré qu'il en ait, le chapeau de Cardinal à M. l'Abbé Dubois. Mais quant à ce qui regarde la Princesse Sobieski, le Pape a pris de trop grand engagement pour pouvoir rétrograder. Peut-être bien, si l'on l'épouvante, ne se dépêcherat-il pas de l'envoyer en Espagne, mais le plus que l'on puisse espérer c'est qu'on la gardera à Rome jusqu'à ce que le Prétendant vienne consommer son mariage.*

The Cardinal Alberoni to Earl Stanhope.

A l'Escurial, *Nov.* 15, 1719.

Je n'ai pas perdu le souvenir, et je me flatte que votre Excellence ne l'aura perdu non plus de nos derniers adieux faits dans ce lieu ici où nous promîmes une confiance réciproque, lorsque le temps plus heureux nous pourroit fournir les moyens de mettre fin à une guerre telle que nous avions prevû et qui est arrivée, et de réconcilier la paix et l'union entre les rois, nos maîtres, qui peut faire la félicité mutuelle de deux nations. Je profite donc de l'occasion qui me fournit M. de Seissau, qui après d'être tombé ici pour quelque affaire qui le regarde, devoit retourner en Holland par l'Angleterre. Il vous rendra compte, Milord, de mes sentimens à votre égard dans

* Stair Papers, vol. xxi.

quelque conversation que j'ai eu avec lui, et il m'a fait juger de son côté qu'il étoit du nombre de vos serviteurs, et qui vous étoit fort attaché. Comme je suis persuadé que vous ne donnez point votre estime sans connoissance, aussi je me suis ouvert entièrement à lui sur les moyens que j'ai crûs qui pouvoient terminer la guerre, et ouvrir une porte au roi mon maître pour en sortir avec honneur, étant charmé, Milord, de pouvoir vous fournir l'occasion d'avoir tout le mérite de la paix, qui certainement vous fortifiera toujours dans les bonnes grâces du roi votre maître, et vous donnera bien de la réputation dans votre pays aussi bien que dehors. Je me flatte, Milord, que les propositions que M. de Seissau vous fera de ma part mettront, dans un esprit aussi juste et aussi pénétrant que la vôtre, une bonne disposition et une très grande envie de finir au plus tôt ce grand ouvrage. Je crois inutile, Milord, de vous dire que ce n'est pas sans des grands efforts de ma part que le roi mon maître a consenti à cette demande; aussi je puis vous assurer qu'il n'y a point d'extrémité à laquelle sa Majesté ne se réduise si cette démarche devient inutile. C'est pourtant ce que je ne saurois m'imaginer, puisque la justice et l'equité sont le fondement de cette dernière proposition,—même c'est une satisfaction qu'on ne sauroit refuser au roi Catholique. J'attendrai impatiemment que M. de Seissau, étant arrivé en Angleterre et ayant eu l'honneur de voir votre Excellence, me fasse part du succès de sa négociation. Je souhaite, Milord, qu'il soit telle qu'il n'y ait plus que les formalités à y ajouter, et qu'à l'avenir je puisse convaincre votre Excellence de la parfaite amitié et du véritable respect que j'ai pour sa personne, &c.

LE CARDINAL ALBERONI.

(*Conditions.*)

Que la paix se réduise aux conditions que son Excellence [Stanhope] apporta à l'Escurial à la reserve des

quatre conditions suivantes, que le roi d'Espagne souhaiteroit qui lui fussent accordées :—

1. Que la réversion soit accordée à l'Espagne sur le royaume de Sardaigne en cas que le roi de Sardaigne vienne à manquer sans postérité masculine, ou ses descendants.

2. Que la réversion lui soit accordée sur les royaumes de Naples, Sicile, et le Duché de Milan, au cas que l'empereur vienne à manquer sans postérité masculine.

3. Que l'empereur veuille aggréger les trois places de Ports Hercole, Piombino, et Orbitello au Grand Duché de Toscane.

4. Que le Grand Duc de Toscane et le Duc de Parme puissent nominer pour successeur de leurs états le fils ainé de la reine d'Espagne, avec le consentement et la garantie des Puissances.*

Le Comte Königsegge au Comte de Stair.

A Paris, *le* 20 *Juin* 1719.

Milord,—J'espère que ce n'est aucune incommodité mais quelqu' autre affaire qui nous a privé de l'honneur de vous voir ce matin à la cour, où on a proposé aux ambassadeurs de se trouver Vendredi au soir à l'hotel de ville pour les feux de St Jean, sans nous prier pourtant expressement et sans nous y donner de places marquées ; nous disant qu'il n'y auroit aucun cérémonial, et que nous y serions sans façon comme des gens de qualité avec les autres. Messieurs les ambassadeurs de Portugal, de Sardaigne, et d'Hollande et moi nous croyons qu'on peut fort bien se dispenser de s'aller mettre dans la foule, et je vous en donne part pour sçavoir ce que votre Excellence en pense.

Ma femme a été prié ; je ne doute pas que Milady ne le soit aussi. Il y aura de places pour les dames ; et on m'a assuré que les ambassadrices seront dans les bonnes places,

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiii.

pourvû qu'elles viennent en robe. Pour ma femme, je n'ai pas de difficulté à la laisser aller à ces feux. Mad. —— n'y ira pas en robe; elle veut y aller dans une place où elle sera incognito avec la Comtesse de Bethune.—J'ai l'honneur, &c.

The Countess of Longaunay to the Earl of Stair.

[Paris,] *Sept.* 17, 1719.

Milord, — L'ancienne connoissance pourra-t-elle me justifier auprès de vous de la liberté que je prends de vous demander une grâce? Je me flatte que vous ne me la refuserez pas, Milord, si des raisons que je ne puis prévoir ne s'opposent point à la prière que je vous fais de vouloir bien m'accorder une recommendation auprès de M. Law, pour que je puisse obténir pour cent mille francs des nouvelles actions, en payant, comme les autres, les dix milles francs par moi. L'on dit que le bureau est déjà fermé pour le public, mais M. Law en est tant le maître, je l'obtiendrai sans doute si vous voulez bien, Milord, m'accorder une lettre pour lui. Je ne le connois point, mais il est bien aise d'obliger les personnes de qualité. Je suis dans le cas de celles qui ont une nombreuse famille et une fortune mediocre, et je voudrois bien profiter d'un temps favorable à tant de gens. Je ne vous demande cependant cette recommendation, qu'autant que ma prière ne vous sera point importune. Si par malheur vous la trouvez telle, oubliez la, je vous supplie, mais faites moi la grâce de vous souvenir toujours que personne ne peut-être plus parfaitement que moi, et avec plus de vénération, votre très humble et très obéissante servante, La Comtesse de Longaunay.

The Earl of Stair to (probably Earl Stanhope).

Paris, *Dec.* 27, 1719.*

. . . Je fis remarquer à son Altesse Royale le grande concours des Jacobites qu'il y avoit présentement à Paris, le

* Stair Papers, vol. iii., B.

bon accueil que M. Law leur faisoit, les fréquentes conférences qu'il avoit avec eux, et les mauvais bruits qu'il avoit eu soin de semer à Paris, comme si les Anglois avoient de l'assassiner ; que ces bruits étoient calculés pour envenimer les esprits des deux nations, l'une contre l'autre, et n'étoient pas des ruses innocentes. M. le Duc d'Orleans me parla avec aigreur de la vanité et de la présomption de Law ; il me dit il s'étoit laissé engouer de vanité et des sottes louanges qu'on lui avoit donnés, que la tête lui en avoit tournée, et que depuis quelque temps il ne sçavoit plus ni ce qu'il étoit ni ce qu'il faisoit. . . . Il me dit du reste que M. Law n'auroit pas la facilité qu'il imaginoit de le gouverner et le rendre maître absolu de ses affaires ; que par rapport aux Jacobites il falloit les chasser de Paris et qu'il les chasseroit ; et il m'assura très fort qu'il ne dépendoit pas de M. Law de rompre la bonne intelligence qu'il maintiendroit toujours avec le roi. Je dis à cette occasion tout ce que je croyois capable de confirmer son Altesse Royale dans ce bon dessein, lui faisant voir la sureté qu'il trouveroit de poursuivre le même plan et les mêmes maximes dont il s'étoit si bien trouvé, et les dangers qu'il auroit de changer de système ; que ce seroit se rembarquer sans besoin dans une mer orageuse, pleine d'écueils. Il en est convenu, parlant avec grande apparence de franchise et de vérité, parlant de notre maître comme j'aurois pû souhaiter, et avec toute l'affection et toute la confiance imaginable pour moi.

Mais en même temps, Milord, il faut que je vous dise naturellement que depuis cette conversation le crédit de M. Law dans les affaires paroit considérablement augmenté. M. le Duc d'Orleans suit entièrement son système pour les finances. L'usage de l'or et de l'argent en France vient d'être abolie par l'arrêt de Samedi dernier ; nous verrons ce qu'en sera des affaires politiques. M. Law pourtant prêche l'union avec l'Espagne, et déclarer contre l'Empereur et l'Angleterre comme les ennemis héréditaires de la France ; il s'est uni étroitement avec les partisans de la constitution et de la vieille cour, et protége ouvertement les Jacobites.

Ce 27.—Notre ami l'Abbé est entièrement soumis à Law et s'est reconcilié à Torcy, et ces trois ont travaillés conjointement avec M. le Duc d'Orleans ; ce fait est sur. L'on m'a envoyé le même avis d'un autre côté de très bonne part, avec cette addition, que la paix d'Espagne étoit sur le point de le faire d'une manière qui ne plaira point au roi ni à l'Empereur ; qu'on a ordonné les payments des subsides au Landgrave de Hesse et des sommes considérables au Prince, dans la vue de faire la paix entre la Suède et le Czar très différement de nos projets. La nouvelle des subsides est très vrai ; ils doivent être payés demain par M. Law, de même que l'argent au Prince de Hesse. Qu'on verroit bientôt le Prétendant quitter Rome, et s'approcher de ce côté ici ; qu'en attendant on m'amuseroit par des bonnes paroles, et que M. le Duc d'Orleans me feroit bonne contenance. Que pour l'Empereur, il n'avoit qu'à prendre garde à lui. Milord, ceci n'est pas un bruit de Paris ; l'avis me vient de très bonne part, d'une personne autant à portée de savoir ce qui se passe que qui ce soit en France.

Milord, c'est à vous à savoir ce qu'il y a à faire dans des conjonctures aussi dangereuses et aussi délicates. En attendant les ordres du roi, je continuerai à faire semblant de ne me douter que de la mauvaise volonté de Law. Lord Islay est ici depuis trois jours, logé chez M. de Mezières, où je l'ai vu. Il me dit froidement qu'il ne sçavoit pas pourquoi les ministres avoient entrepris la Bill du pairage, ni avec qui ils avoient consulté. Il n'est pas venu me voir non plus que Lord Peterborough, qui est ici depuis avant hier.

The King (George I.) to the Regent Orleans.

HANOVER, *Nov.* 7, 1719.

MON FRÈRE ET COUSIN,—Comme rien ne seroit plus efficace, soit pour inspirer au Czar des sentiments de paix, soit pour pousser avec succès la guerre contre lui, s'il persistoit à vouloir retenir toutes ses conquêtes sur la Suède, que

le concours du royaume de Pologne et de la maison de Saxe, je me suis prévalu de séjour qu'à fait ici le Conte de Flemming, pour lui en ouvrir mes pensées et pour lui faire entrer. Il m'a promis de faire les remontrances les plus fortes au roi son maître pour lui porter, de même que la république [Poland], moyennant quelque avantage qu'on feroit à l'un et à l'autre ; et il part d'ici dans le dessein d'y travailler. Mais il me fait connoitre que pour y disposer les esprits dans cette république, les bons raisons ne suffiroient pas pour y contre-balancer les intrigues du Czar, et qu'il faudroit pour cet effet répandre des sommes assez considérables. Je suis prêt à y contribuer de mon côté ; et s'agissant de faciliter à la Suède le recouvrement des provinces que le Czar a conquéres sur elle et d'abréger la guerre, le Comte de Flemming se flatte que vous voudrez aussi concourir à cette fin par quelque somme. Loin de le décourager en lui ôtant cette espérance, j'ai cru devoir lui confirmer, en consentant d'appuyer vers vous les instances que le roi de Pologne vous feroit là-dessus. Et comme il y destine le Sieur le Coq son ministre auprès de moi, dont les bonnes intentions me sont connues, j'ai trouvé bon de l'accompagner de cette lettre pour vous prier de le favoriser autant que vous pourrez dans les demandes qu'il vous fera en conséquence de ce que dessus, de quoi le Comte de Stair aura l'honneur de vous informer plus amplement de ma part. Je suis bien sincèrement, mon Frère et Cousin, votre bien bon Frère et Cousin,

GEORGE *R.**

The King (George I.) to the Emperor of Germany.

ST JAMES'S, *Dec.* 2, 1719.

MONSIEUR MON FRÈRE, — Dès les premiers avis que j'eus que la cour de Turin recherchoit unes des Archiduchesses pour le Prince de Piedmont, j'aurois crû manquer à moi-même et à ce que je dois à votre Majesté Impériale et Chrétienne si je n'intervenois auprès d'elle de la manière la

* Stair Papers, vol. xx.

plus affectueuse et la plus pressante pour obvier à un mariage qui seroit si fatale à notre union. J'ai mandé confidemment à V.M.I. les motifs qui me faisoient envisager les suites les plus fâcheuses dans ce mariage, tant pour elle que pour moi, et je lui ai fait exposer plus particulièrement par les Sieurs de St Saphorin et Schaub combien devoit m'être suspecte la cour de Turin, dont les ministres se comportoient partout en agents du Prétendant à ma couronne. V.M.I. prenant en bonne part ces représentations, il lui a plû de m'assurer par mes ministres que quand il s'agiroit de marier les Archiduchesses, elle auroit une attention particulière à l'intime amitié qui subsiste entre elle et moi, et qu'elle n'en disposeroit jamais pour un prince qui pût me donner ombrage. Quelque confiance que j'eusse en cette promesse de votre Majesté Impérial, l'évasion de la Princesse Sobieski et les nouvelles poursuites des ministres Savoyards, qui parloient ouvertement de ce mariage comme s'ils se tenoient sûrs de d'y réussir, ayant éveillé les alarmes de la nation Britannique, je n'ai pû me dispenser de réitérer mes instances auprès de V.M.I., bien persuadé qu'elle me fourniroit de quoi les rassurer sur ce sujet en me rassurant moi-même. . . .*

Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair (*private*).

Cockpit, *April* 28, 1719.

I think the public despatch which I send you to-day is pretty full. I would add one thing to it, which I think safer in a private letter, relating to our northern affairs. I did formerly write to you upon that subject with the freedom and confidence which is due to you from me. I will now explain my notions, and give you such farther observations upon it as may be for your curiosity and for the public service. By a long observation, and really applying it to the very best of my judgment, I have discovered that old Bernsdorf is an old woman: he keeps certain ministerial

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiii.

appearances of gravity and wisdom, which at bottom are no better than an arrant stupidity. He will let nobody meddle in those matters ; he does not get out of Mecklenburgh and the three villages which belong to him that he disputes with the King of Prussia. He has conceived a parcel of mean, testy animosities to Ilgen at Berlin, to the Czar and Schafirof at Petersburg, as he had to Gortz at Stockholm ; and without comprehending what is right or wrong, without having any general system of affairs,—nay, without having so much as formed a scheme of his own for his German affairs,—he lets everything moulder and crumble away without doing any thing or suffering anybody else to attempt it. The worst of all is, that the king has not made the same discovery which I think I have, and in these northern affairs we can neither get forward nor backward. Now it is most certain that the French do not mean the same thing about them as we should (I will not say as we do, for we mean nothing) ; but it is as certain that it is not necessary for us to express this jealousy, and that, considering the fine offers, the specious assurances, and the circumstances of our amity and affairs with the Regent, we ought at least to put them in the wrong by showing that the backwardness or the falsehood does not lie at our door. So that should you write perpetually how necessary it is for us to communicate with them, how much we may depend on them, how safe 'tis to trust them, how dangerous to neglect them upon this occasion, we should find it of the utmost difficulty to spur on this old mule one step faster. Whereas you writing that there is no depending on the Regent and the Abbé, and that they will play us an underhand game,—instead of producing the effect it should with men of business, of putting us upon our guard, and in a condition to treat with them without trusting too much,—makes the old gentleman resolve to have nothing to do with them. So that in these matters wherein only his sentiments prevail against other people's, we cannot obtain so much as to make any answer, good, bad, or indifferent.

Lord Cadogan goes to Holland this week. I do not believe he has done himself much service with his master by playing the minister and the *homme d'importance* so extremely. I am of your opinion that the two brothers (Argyle and Islay) may prove as troublesome of their side. All this must be got over, or 'tis but of little use to see it. The Cabinet Council will be turned into a Regency. I have heard that a great lady should say that if the king goes abroad, she hopes the nobility and gentry of this island know who ought to govern next. . . .*

WHITEHALL, *July* 9, 1719.

I just now receive your Excellency's letters of the 12th, which came in the Abbé Dubois' pacquet. I send your Excellency enclosed the copy of such a letter as Signor Ré, the Duke of Parma's minister here, has thought fit to communicate to me; by which your Excellency will see that what the Duke of Orleans told you does prove true, that there is, I think, some overture made for a peace.† He told me withal that he desired to know whether we should be glad to have the Duke of Parma, his master, pursue this negotiation. I told him that Spain knew the conditions of the Quadruple Alliance, and when they sent word they accepted them we should know what answer to make; that it was their business to make advances now, but that we never should; that I would immediately communicate these proposals to the several ministers of the powers concerned; that any separate or underhand dealing was not only dishonourable but foolish. I must therefore desire that your Excellency will immediately lay this paper before the

* Stair Papers, vol. xix., B. In a subsequent letter (May 7, 1719) Mr Craggs says—"The Regency is to consist of all the members of the Cabinet Council, who are to act, during his Majesty's absence, with the same powers and instructions as were given in King William's time."

† The Duke of Parma, with whom Lord Peterborough had recently entered into a confidential correspondence, was uncle of the Queen of Spain, and should divide the credit with his eccentric correspondent of procuring the removal of Cardinal Alberoni from the conduct of affairs in Spain.

Regent and acquaint him in what manner it has been received here.—I am, &c.

July 23, 1719.

. . . You will be very glad without doubt, my lord, to find that we shall at last finish with the Court of Prussia. It is an affair of so great importance in all its consequences that I cannot help being uneasy till the treaty is actually signed. When you send me back the papers I communicated to you about these northern affairs, you shall receive the second part. We wait very impatiently to hear if the report of Cardinal Alberoni's disgrace proves true. I cannot think the foundation of it strong enough to build upon. We do all we can to keep up the appearance of a negotiation with Portugal ; I don't expect that they will come into the Quadruple Alliance, but if they will treat with us about it, the Spaniards must be cruelly frighted. Therefore, your Excellency cannot press the Regent too much to give proper orders to the French minister at Lisbon. . . .

WHITEHALL, *Sept.* 24, 1719.*

I rejoice with your Excellency upon the happy prospect of our affairs abroad, and particularly in the north. It had been an important stroke if the Czar's powerful force at sea could have been destroyed ; but considering what our merchants and our trade might have suffered for some time after such an event, and what a clamour has been raised here, it is perhaps as well that the Czar may reflect, and of himself see the necessity of his acquiescing in what the king and all the world besides judge to be reasonable. At least since Sir John Norris did not meet the Czar's fleet, this is putting those matters in the most advantageous light they will bear. . . .

We are entirely of the Regent's mind that the expulsion of Cardinal Alberoni is the best step to a firm and good

* Stair Papers, vol. xix., B.

peace ; and now I am upon that subject, I must let your Excellency know that there are speculations here upon Schotti's long stay at Paris,* even after the time he expected the return of his courier. Others have been raised upon Lord Peterborough's repeated journeys backwards and forwards. I assure your Excellency, and you may boldly do the same to any body, that for my part I know of no manner of authority or direction he has. I do believe that he of himself may be treating with the Parmesan ministers up and down, and fancy from the opinion he may have of his own judgment and skill that he shall be able to make something of it. However, I wrote last post to my Lord Stanhope that his lordship would enable me to speak positively on that head, which I hope he has already done by your Excellency. I mention this thing for fear that under pretence of being jealous of my Lord Peterborough, other folks should take that handle of negotiating privately.

WHITEHALL, *Nov.* 19, 1719.

Till I hear from your Excellency, I have no farther trouble to give you but in relation to an article in Mr Davenant's letter of the 14th inst., N.S., wherein he mentions my Lord Peterborough being at Novi, and endeavouring to negotiate a peace with Spain. I have in some of my former letters hinted to your Excellency that this lord had no directions from his Majesty or any of his ministers to concern himself in any negotiation of that kind ; and I repeat it to your Excellency upon this occasion that you may make the proper use of it ; and particularly his Majesty would have your Excellency assure the Regent and the Abbé Dubois that whatever negotiation my Lord Peterborough may be entered into, it is entirely voluntary and of his own head, without the least authority from hence for so doing.

* The Marquis Schotti, an emissary or envoy employed by Alberoni, was gained over to use his influence with the Court of Spain against his employer by a *douceur* from the Regent of 50,000 crowns.—Stair Papers.

WHITEHALL, *Sept.* 24, 1719.

I give your Excellency the trouble of this letter apart to desire that you will procure some subscribers of distinction to the works of my old friend, Mr Addison, who left behind him a dedication of them to me. The author was so much above the common level that I should be glad to see a list of the greatest names before an edition of his writings; and if his Royal Highness the Regent, and some of the first quality and character in the Court of France, as well as our English gentlemen now at Paris, should be found in it, I can promise your Excellency that they will be placed among some of their equals. I might add that they owe us a favour of this nature for that which his Majesty did to M. de Voltaire. The benefit of the subscription is for Mr Tickel, one of my secretaries, who will send your Excellency some signed receipts along with this letter. The subscription is very easy, but one guinea down and another upon delivery of the books.*

(*Private.*)

COCKPIT, *Sept.* 24, 1719.

. . . Mr Law has carried the credit of France very high. He may chance to find that in attempting to undersell our stocks so publicly he has united several considerable rich bodies of men here against him, whose design is manifestly to sink our credit. I do not think there was much skill, while the good correspondence between both nations continues, to do these overt acts. I confess to you the prospect is very melancholy, and that it behoves us to think of paying our debts, but we must do it *bride en main*, and with everybody's consent. Here is no absolute power to do it

* The above letter has reference to the fine edition of Addison's Works in four volumes 4to, edited by Tickel, and printed by Jacob Tonson, London, 1721. This edition contains a dedication by Addison to James Craggs, Esq., principal Secretary of State, and a prefatory notice by Tickel.

thus all in a day, and to establish so many benefits in one company to raise their credit so high in so little time. We shall not have these starts of credit, but I hope, if we are slower, we shall be more sure. In short, it will not become us nor be useful to us to express any public envy in the present situation, but I believe there will be some concert amongst our companies to thwart a man who declares so openly against them. I should be anxious to learn what conjuration there is between him and the Earl of Islay; something I daresay very deep and mysterious, but I don't apprehend such very cunning people. This peer to me pretended he was going to buy books; I suppose he will get some money, and upon this occasion I cannot help saying I think your scruples of putting in at first too fine. I don't say I should if I had been trusted, but I confess to you freely it would have been from fear and not from honour, for if I could have dreamed of this success, I would have got a million of money and owned it at Charing Cross.*

(*Private.*)

COCKPIT, *Oct.* 1, 1719.

. . . You may have perceived from several of my private letters and heard from other means that we were not likely to be well with that old woman Bernsdorf. 'Twas he who last year underhand gave out the king was against the peerage bill; 'twas on his credit and support that so many of the Whigs were running riot; 'twas on the hopes of his powerful interest that Lord Cadogan was endeavouring to do mischief, and that the party, uncertain who had credit at court and what changes were going to be made, were divided, hawling and pulling twenty different ways. Every man was let into a secret, and when they were told the truth or pressed with ill consequences, you could see every jackanapes as wise and mysterious as the

* These passages in Mr Craggs' letter refer to the purchasing of French stock, then in high credit.

old man himself, shrinking up his shoulders or shaking an empty head, as if each of them knew much better things than what you told them. Now you must know this stupid old creature, with the profoundest ignorance that ever I knew, enjoys also the greatest share of pride, resentment, and avarice that you can imagine. He had puzzled and muddled in those northern affairs with the adroitness of a cow, till at last nobody knew what to make of them, but everybody saw ruin and destruction advancing with great strides from that quarter. Upon this we began to resolve not to murder ourselves for fear of dying, and all of us one after another attacked our master on the subject. The old woman had an ascendant of habit and custom, but we had argument and reason, which I must say I never but saw the king yield to when he had digested it. And thus we so far got the better that Carteret was sent to Stockholm and afterwards Whitworth to Berlin. You cannot imagine by what little artifices and knavery Bernsdorf has endeavoured to traverse their negotiations; but, to be short, in spite of them all, your lordship sees that those matters are pretty happily concluded. This success has very much opened his Majesty's eyes, and he has seen with wonder all that he has been engaged in for the sake of three villages which Bernsdorf claims as his own, for the sake of his estate in Mecklenburg, and of his personal hatred to Ilgen, &c., of the same nature. And I believe you will no longer find that heavy clog to every wheel that was set agoing. But this has exasperated the man to the last degree, and he has been using some foreign ministers, whom he got posted, and who no more minded our instructions than those of John-a-Nokes, to his last purposes. Imprimis, by the means of Lord Polwarth he has been endeavouring to make us break with Sweden on account of Denmark. This lord used to send him sometimes copies and sometimes the original letters he wrote to the secretaries, and receive his orders what to send them next. I believe he is beginning to alter that method of correspondence. By the

means of St Saphorin he has pressed us to dispose immediately of the expectatives as the emperor would have us, and some other things which you cannot but have observed. By the means of Jeffereys he has endeavoured to make us break off with the king of Prussia by strange representations (all in cypher) how we were betrayed, while he knew the Prussian minister was forming new alliances against us with the Czar. And by the means of his nephew, this M. le Comte de Marsay, he has been insisting as a master-stroke, that Lord Stanhope or I should signify formally the king's favour to Lord Mar, as to which he has so far been very truly informed by Lord Cadogan or Mr Lechmere, or possibly from Walpole and the prince's quarter (with whom he has to my knowledge corresponded), that such an office-letter being called for in Parliament would blow us all up. I have in the most intimate friendship told you all this, which will I hope in one sense satisfy you about all this matter. (Return me Marsay's letter immediately.)

I am heartily glad of your good correspondence with the Abbé Dubois. I am very sensible of the unequal condition of the two kingdoms in relation to their debts. I think something must be done, but don't yet pretend to decide what can. Thus far I know, we cannot strike such strokes as they do in France; 3000 millions at 5 per cent must receive an interest of 150 millions; counting that is regularly paid, what will remain for the king's use and service? I suppose when he wants more this company will break, and then capital and interest is swallowed up.

WHITEHALL, *Dec.* 28, 1719.*

As I have received no letters from your Excellency since my last, we are impatiently expecting those that are due, and to hear of my Lord Stanhope's arrival at Paris. Besides the copy I sent you in my foregoing letter of a paper that had been put into my hands by the Parmesan

* Stair Papers, vol. xix., B.

secretary here, I must enclose in this a copy of what he has writ to me this day, upon which the king's sentiment is that the Duke of Parma's behaviour and the pains with which he has contributed to the removal of Cardinal Alberoni deserve well of the emperor, and could therefore wish that his imperial Majesty would lessen the heavy load of contributions, &c., which that duke declares himself unable to sustain. After your Excellency shall have considered this matter with my Lord Stanhope, the king leaves it to your joint opinions how far the Regent of France should be pressed to accompany his Majesty's instances at the Court of Vienna in favour of the said duke; and whatever you two shall determine or do upon it, the king would have Lord Stanhope officially signify his Majesty's pleasure accordingly to M. de St Saphorin, without sending hither for it.

His Majesty will also be determined by your opinion whether the French court should not be instantly urged to declare either that they will abide by the proposition of their own making, to which we agreed with so much complaisance and readiness, and so fall, without losing more time, upon the business of the American Limits, or else that there is an end of that commission. For as on the one hand we are at a loss to conceive the true reason of their affecting delays in a matter contrived by themselves, so on the other, if they are now unwilling to have it treated by commissioners on both sides, we ought at least to know it as soon as we can, that the commission on our part may be revoked. We cannot help expressing the like impatience in regard to the pretension upon St Lucia, and think it very reasonable to hope that my Lord Stanhope will see that point made out before he comes away.

(Signed) J. Craggs.

*Major-General Owen Wynne to ——**

GALWAY, *April* 5, 1719.

I have this day a confirmation of what I mentioned to you by last post concerning Lord Lucan, with these farther particulars, viz., that he with seven other persons landed at the Hill of Howth about the time the Duke of Ormond was supposed to be in Ireland; that he was at Portumna on the 19th and 20th of March last, and at Louchrea about the 22d and 23d, where he had a meeting with several Popish gentlemen of the country. The person who gives this intelligence says, our enemies have their emissaries in all counties of this kingdom, and they certainly design an insurrection, and whatever they do of that kind will be done at once and (he believes) all in one night. He is a very honest man, though a Papist, and I do not doubt of his sincerity. He says the Lord Lucan asked for several gentlemen in the county of Mayo as if he had known them, but their names he will not tell, having (he says) already told enough to put the Government and the country too on their guard. This account I have from a particular friend who has always been a most zealous promoter of the king's interest. I have some acquaintance with the gentleman that gave him this intelligence, who is in great dread of being discovered to his countrymen, though he consented that I should be told of it; and having a very good fortune in farms and cattle, he seems to be extremely concerned at the danger. I thought it my duty to give you this trouble that you may please to acquaint my Lord-Lieutenant with it. Be pleased to give my humble duty to his Grace, &c.

* Stair Papers, vol. xxii. This letter was enclosed in a letter to Lord Stair from the Duke of Bolton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, of 9th April 1719. The custom had not yet been introduced of putting the name and address of the person written to inside the letter, so that, should the backing of a letter have been lost, the person addressed is not known, unless pointed out by internal evidence.

The Biribi.

Biribi was the name of a game of hazard much in vogue at Paris in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was played with a large table (presided over by the banker or keeper of the table) having its surface divided into seventy spaces or squares numbered; there being attached to the table a large pocket or bag containing 64 balls, with so many numbers attached to them. Each player drew in his turn a ball from the pocket, and if the number of the ball chanced to correspond to that of the square upon which he had placed his money, the keeper of the table paid him sixty-four times his stake.—Dictionnaire de la Langue Françoise, par Littré.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVI.

Letters, Mr Secretary Craggs to the Earl of Stair.

COCKPIT, *Jan.* 25, 1720.*

I HAVE one private letter (which I have burned) to answer from you, wherein you complain extremely of my Lord Stanhope's conduct when he last went to France. I will write my mind to your lordship upon this head with the utmost freedom and the greatest friendship. I hope it may be with your satisfaction, for I do not know how to mince these matters with my friends. I have frequently hinted to your lordship that I could have wished you would not so frequently engage yourself in personal animosities with those employed by the Regent, but I would be glad to know if the king or his servants on this last occasion could possibly sit still upon those last letters of yours which sent over Lord Stanhope. . . . The king sent over Stanhope during the holidays to see what was doing, not to support any character, honour, or dignity of the nation, but to see whether we were upon the brink of ruin and destruction, and what was to be done upon it. The king ordered him to talk with Law, and judge as well as he could what he designed. Your lordship had put things upon that foot with this man, or he with you, that 'twas not possible for him to set foot within your house. Was Lord Stanhope, who was dispatched to see whether Hannibal was at the gates, to be disputing punctilios—either not to have gone

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiv. This letter is referred to and answered in Lord Stair's letter to Mr Craggs of February 14, 1720, printed in the Hardwicke State Papers, ii. 604.

to your house that he might receive the first visit from Mr Law, or when he was there, pass that fortnight he stayed in a negotiation to meet with a man the king had absolutely directed him to talk with? I must confess I think he did well in going straight to him and asking him to explain himself on the necessary heads. As to the regiment, I believe Lord Stanhope had a mind to see whether he (Law) was in the humour of begging any favour of the king; and pray let me know whether you think it worth while to oblige this person, and if he is not to be obliged, but will support the Jacobites and can bring France to quarrel with us, will this Scotch regiment be the thing that shall set up the Pretender? I will agree entirely to one thing with you that Law may so settle and establish the finances of France as to make that kingdom more formidable than ever to its neighbours. I think we ought to tremble at it, and be very cautious and look well about us. I do agree that he may have the vanity, being our countryman, some time or other *to attempt giving us a monarch;** and this must make us very watchful, but I can never consent that the king should, because of these apprehensions, immediately break with the Regent unless he will remove Mr Law. . . . If that is your mind I differ with you entirely. Would you have us then continue in every thing to oppose and irritate Mr Law? I remember you being very near with the Abbé Dubois as you have since been with Law. You are now going I see to fall out at home with Lord Stanhope, and pray what is to come of all this? I vow to God you put me in mind of what I have so often seen you do at play, that when once you began to lose, you would, though it was against all the sharpers and swordsmen in the Den, play on for all you was worth. If a friend spoke or pulled you by the sleeve, nay, had a lady required your attendance, 'twas all one to the Earl of Stair—mistress, friend, estate, *tout au diable* rather than yield! And then one heard and agreed—This man has vast qualifica-

* In other words, *become an active Jacobite.*

tions, he is a good soldier, an able statesman, a fine gentleman, an excellent scholar, an agreeable companion, *mais voicy qui gâte tout.* So in this matter you have been jealous of the correspondence first between Lord Stanhope and the Abbé, then piqued at Law's conduct, now that Lord Stanhope has not entered entirely into your sentiments of these affairs. . . .

WHITEHALL, *Feb.* 4, 1720.

. . . After a contest between the two companies of the South Sea and the Bank, the offer made by the former to the public and accepted in Parliament is so considerable as to contribute a very great ease to the national debt. I can only give you this general account of it at present that the South Sea Company's offer amounts to above 7½ millions, part of which is upon condition that annuities shall be subscribed into their stock upon a tempting invitation they shall make to them, and in proportion for any part; and whatever annuities shall remain unsubscribed, the Company are to forfeit one year's purchase for such. The Company also agrees that their whole stock shall be reduced to 4 per cent after the year 1727.

A LONDRES, *Feb.* 18, 1720.

Je vous fais cette lettre en François pour vous épargner la peine d'une traduction, puisque le roi souhaite que votre Excellence la communique à M. le Regent, que vous supplierez en même temps de sa part de vouloir bien ordonner qu'on y fasse une réponse marginale à fin que sa Majesté puisse être en état de bien examiner le fait de la dispute qui survient au sujet de Gibraltar. . . . Il s'agit donc de savoir si son Altesse Royale a lieu de se plainder de la réponse que sa Majesté a faite à la demande de l'Espagne qu'on lui rende Gibraltar.* Pour cet effet, il faut remonter

* Viz., the answer on the part of the British Government refusing now to cede Gibraltar.

un peu plus haut et voir la situation des affaires de l'Europe lorsqu'on forma la Quadruple Alliance. Je tâcherai de la marquer en peu de mots. L'on voyoit prendre à l'Espagne des prétextes fort minces pour commencer une guerre avec l'Empereur. L'on soupçonnoit, et le tems a fait voir si ce soupçon étoit bien fondé, que le Cardinal [Alberoni] faisoit prétendre sa Majesté Catholique à la régence en France et à la succession du royaume, si le jeune roi venoit à mourir sans enfans. L'on appréhendoit même une disposition formidable dans presque tous les Etats de ce royaume à y contribuer. L'Empereur attaqué en Italie auroit été obligé d'y employer la plus grande partie de ses forces. Les ligues qui se tramoient dans le Nord devoient faire une diversion considérable en Allemagne; et ce même parti [Alberoni] se proposoit de nous envoyer ici le Prétendant pour nous mettre hors d'état de résister à ce beau système. Dans ces circonstances les princes qui forment la Quadruple Alliance songèrent à prévenir tant de maux et de désolations en concertant des mesures qui pussent renverser ces horribles projets de calamité universelle. Ils examinèrent non seulement les sujets présents mais futurs qui pouvoient produire de la discorde entre les princes de l'Europe. Pour réconcilier l'Empereur et le roi d'Espagne, ils trouvèrent un expédient de faire renoncer le premier à sa prétention sur cette monarchie, qui ne coûtoit à l'Espagne que la réversion de la Sicile après l'extinction de la maison de Savoye. Pour lever tout pretexte de brouillerie entre l'Empereur et le roi de Sardaigne, sa Majesté Imperiale lui cede cette Isle et la partie du Milanois dont ce prince est en possession quoiqu'on la lui disputoit. La France est dévenue garanté de ces traités, et par conséquence fondée en droit à remédier aux infractions qui s'y pourroient faire. L'Espagne se contentant du traité d'Utrecht ne pouvoit guère se plaindre de ces dispositions; mais à fin qu'elle y trouvâ encore plus son compte, et pour prévenir les sujets futurs de discorde qu'il étoit facile de prévoir en Italie, on lui procuroit les investitures

de la Toscane, de Parme &c., pour les fils de la reine, garanties par les puissances les plus capables de les y maintenir. Ces avantages, quoique fort considérables, étoient fort loin du compte de M. Alberoni. Il se proposoit de venir imiter en France les Cardinaux de Richelieu et de Mazarin, et ne pouvoit consentir à renfermer son vaste genie dans les bornes étroites de la monarchie d'Espagne. Il avoit des Prétendants à nous donner ici, des conspirations prêtes à éclôre en France, des ligues à faire avec le Czar et le feu roi de Suède pour étendre sa domination. . . .

Ce fut dans ces circonstances que le roi [George], qui souhaitoit d'ailleurs d'éviter des dépenses et les conséquences d'une guerre, se joignit a son Altesse Royale pour tâcher par toutes sortes de voyes à porter sa Majesté Catholique à un accommodement ; et le roi, pour lui complaire et pour témoigner son désir sincère pour la paix, fit entendre que pour prévenir cette guerre et à fin que l'Espagne n'eut point de prétexte raisonnable pour la soutenir, il rendroit de son pur mouvement, sans aucun engagement et à la considération principalement de la situation de S.A.R., Gibraltar à l'Espagne. Mais je dois en même temps dire à votre Excellence qu'alors même on se proposoit de demander et de régler avec sa Majesté Catholique pour cette restitution des avantages et des éclaircissements sur nos traités de commerce qui se trouvoient très mal executés de la part de l'Espagne. *Cette offre n'eut point d'effet.* Le roi d'Espagne persista à vouloir la guerre. Il nous en a coûté ici quelque sang et beaucoup d'argent ; nous ne l'avons pas faite malheureusement ; nous n'avons aucun engagement humain à rendre Gibraltar ; nous ne demandons de l'Espagne aucune nouvelle acquisition, mais au contraire de remettre les choses *in statu quo.* Et cependant sans que dans tout cet intervalle ou nous l'ait proposé, sans que nous l'ayons jamais promis, la paix même ayant été refusée à laquelle le roi de son pur mouvement attachoit la cession de Gibraltar, sans nous offrir le moindre équivalent, sans nous

permettre de négocier avec l'Espagne pour une chose qui dépend absolument de la volonté du roi,—la France, son allié, son amie intime, le somme péremptoirement de rendre Gibraltar à leur ennemi commun! Lord Stanhope dit que dans son dernier voyage il n'a pas donnée la moindre espérance, et qu'il n'est point du tout agi de rendre Gibraltar. Lorsque le Sieur de Seissau étoit ici, on le lui refusa absolument. Sa Majesté espère aussi que lorsque S.A.R. réflechira à la situation de ses affaires domestiques qui portèrent sa Majesté à offrir Gibraltar pour les aider dans ce temps la en tâchant d'éviter une guerre ou il y avoit tant à craindre pour elle, S.A.R. fera aussi quelque attention à l'indisposition ou sont les peuples du roi contre une restitution de cette nature après une guerre dont il ne leur doit revenir d'autre fruit que la paix, à moins que M. le Régent ne fasse voir à sa Majesté qu'il est en droit d'y insister.

En rétablissant la tranquillité publique, l'Empereur aura gagné la Sicile; la France aura évité une guerre civile pour une régence et une succession qui va s'y reconnoître par la paix prochaine, comme elle est établie par le traité d'Utrecht, par la justice et par la raison, et pour le bien et le repos universel du monde Chrêtien. Le roi d'Espagne aura la rénonciation de l'Empereur et les successions susdites pour les enfans de la reine; mais la Grande Bretagne n'aura que l'avantage de la paix, commune à tous ses voisins.

Le roi vous ordonne donc, Milord, de demander à son Altesse Royale s'il y a de la vérité ou de l'artifice dans l'établissement de ces faits, persuadé que si elle convient de la vérité des faits, elle ne trouvera plus étrange la réponse qui a été marginée au Memoire de M. le Secrétaire Grimaldo; mais s'il y a quelque méprise dans ce que je vous allegue, S.A.R. aura la bonté d'y faire répondre, puisque sa Majesté, outre la bonne foi dont elle fait profession envers tout le monde, se pique de l'amitié la plus étroite et la plus chaude pour son Altesse Royale. . . .

The Same to the Same.

WHITEHALL, *March* 10, 1720.

. . . As Lord Stanhope sets out from hence to-morrow, he may be expected at Paris upon the receipt of this. In the mean time the king would have your Excellency acquaint the Regent in civil terms that his Majesty cannot but think it a very extraordinary argument made use of by his Royal Highness for our restoring Gibraltar that he has lately renewed his offer to Spain for that purpose. His Majesty cannot conceive upon what grounds or authority such a promise should be renewed, and is wholly at a loss to account for any new steps being taken in that affair without his Majesty's consent, or so much as his participation. Upon which your Excellency may please to observe to his Royal Highness how very different this proceeding is from his Majesty's conduct, who has taken no measures either for carrying on the war or promoting the peace without communicating them to France and the rest of his allies. What makes it appear still more surprising that the Regent should interest himself so particularly in a matter which regards his Majesty solely, and which is contrary to his sentiments, is that his Royal Highness does not seem inclinable that his Majesty or any other powers should interpose in the difficulties which are raised concerning the restitution of the places taken, but that he would adjust them himself with the King of Spain. I cannot help adding one remark more, which is, that in the several letters we have received from Mr Schaub (Lord Stanhope's Secretary), he mentions the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia as conditional upon the restitution of the places taken by France, and yet says nothing of Gibraltar; by which it looks as if Spain were not to be obstinate on that point, notwithstanding what the Abbé Landi declared to your Excellency and M. Penterridter [the Imperial minister]. I only mention these things as heads for your Excellency to enlarge upon as you see

occasion; and as Lord Stanhope will explain them more fully, I need add nothing farther upon them at present.

. . . As to what your Excellency mentions of Mr Law, it is not much wondered at here that his credit should sink, since he has taken so many extraordinary and inconsistent methods to support it. Your Excellency will be pleased to make the king's compliments to the Archbishop of Cambray [the Abbé Dubois] upon the business of the constitution being so happily terminated and upon his promotion; and that I hope soon to give him joy of a cardinal's cap. Everybody here is pleased with his good fortune.

LONDON, *March* 16, 1720.

I send back your servant Verdun with this dispatch, which your Excellency will be pleased to communicate to Lord Stanhope, it being designed equally an instruction for you both. . . . I shall content myself upon this occasion to mention only two points to your lordships. Upon the first, which relates to the Duke of Parma, I have writ pretty fully to Lord Cadogan and M. de St Saphorin. It is beyond dispute that the Queen of Spain has the sole influence over the king, her husband. The credit her uncle (Duke of Parma) has with her appeared first by procuring his envoy, M. Alberoni, to be made Cardinal and Prime Minister.

When the Duke of Parma thought fit to represent against this man by another minister, the Marquis Schotti, he procured a more complete disgrace for his Eminence than any other instance of our times can parallel; and this Marquis Schotti, for no other reason that appears than his being the Parmesan envoy, is becoming first minister at the Court of Madrid in the cardinal's room. It would be needless for me to repeat to your Excellency the apprehensions which you have so strongly imbibed, and which have occasioned this last journey of Lord Stanhope. By M. Penterridter's letters it appears that he is not without a large share of them, and one must believe that the Imperial Court hath

the same informations yet more strongly stated by him. Now it is very remarkable, though I cannot say it is extraordinary at the Court of Vienna, to see so fair an opportunity and so easy a one as presents itself to them of securing the Duke of Parma's credit at the Court of Madrid so entirely neglected. The contributions are laid heavier in proportion upon him than upon any other Italian prince, and I think this severity hardly squeezes out of him 30,000 pistoles for the use of the emperor's troops, who have besides the poor advantage of being quartered in and of plundering his country. . . .

Sir Robert Sutton's health is like to detain him here some days longer, and I wish he doth not insist, before he goes, upon having all the business and money matters despatched which belong to his mission.

(Signed) J. CRAGGS.

The Earl of Stair to Earl Stanhope.

A PARIS, *April* 12, 1720.*

Vous verrez ma dépêche à M. Craggs au sujet des desseins de la compagnie des Indes de ce pays ici contre notre compagnie de la Mer du Sud.† Vous comprendrez aisement combien il vous importe de prendre garde aux démarches que nous ferons en présence d'une compagnie aussi puissante que celle de France, qui est pour le moins rivale de la nôtre; laquelle a un homme tel que M. Law à la tête, aussi habile, aussi bien instruit de l'état de nos affaires, et aussi attentif a nous faire du mal. Vous voyez, Milord, l'inconvénient qu'il y a, si les sommes que M. Law a dans nos fonds viennent être doublés, pour être ensuite employés contre nous, et le danger qu'il y a alors que son exemple ne soit suivi par les autres étrangers qui ont de

* Stair Papers, vol. iii., B.

† See letters of March 27 and April 30 in the Hardwicke Papers, vol. ii.

l'argent dans nos actions. Je ne prétendrai pas, eloigné comme je suis, de vous dire mon sentiment sur les opérations qu'il conviendra de faire pour empêcher les actions de monter ou pour prévenir les maux dont nous sommes menacés par le haussement des dites actions ; c'est sur quoi il faut consulter avec les plus habiles et les plus honnêtes gens sur les lieux. Je prendrai seulement la liberté de vous suggérer quelques idées pour déconcerter les opérations que M. Law fait contre notre crédit. Vouz voyez que jusqu'à présent M. Law a envoyé des très grosses sommes d'or en Hollande, et qu'à l'heure qu'il est, il envoye des sommes considérables d'or en droiture en Angleterre par Calais. L'usage dont il fait de cet or est, comme nous voyons, d'acheter nos actions, pour être en suite en état de les discréditer en portant des sommes énormes au marché toutes à la fois, et pour en suite retirer toutes nos espèces d'argent pour les actions ainsi vendues.

Pour déranger les opérations de M. Law, je proposerois :—

1. De hausser le prix de l'argent ou de baisser le prix de l'or ; par exemple, de mettre la guinea à vingt shillings. Par ce moyen l'argent coûtera plus cher à M. Law.

2. De donner du pouvoir au roi par des résolutions du parlement d'empêcher la sortie des toutes matières d'argent hors le royaume pendant un certain temps, sous les peines qu'on trouvera convenable ; de faire même porter à la monoye de matières d'argent que les particuliers auront amassés pour porter hors du royaume, en payant les dites matières en espèces d'or. (La maison de M. Middleton, banquier, est remplie des matières d'argent pour le compte de M. Law, lesquelles doivent être transportées en France. Par ce moyen M. Law perdra la facilité de retirer nos espèces d'argent.)

3. Par les mêmes résolutions du parlement je donnerois au roi, pendant un certain temps, le pouvoir d'empêcher l'entrée de l'or, monoyé ou non monoyé, dans le royaume. Par la M. Law sera derangé pour le payement des actions qui doivent être payées le 1er Mai, et s'il doit les payer par

lettres du change, cela lui coûtera beaucoup plus cher. Vous savez, Milord, qu'il y a un droit de dix pour cent sur l'entrée de toutes matières d'or et d'argent en France.

Il est vrai que ces remèdes sortent un peu des formes ordinaires ; mais j'ai peur que notre cas ne le demande ; et cela étant, il ne faut pas balancer d'exercer le pouvoir que la législature a incontestablement dans des cas de necessité. Après cela, permettez moi de vous dire que j'espère que vous songerez serieusement à l'établissement de la banque nationelle. C'est l'unique ressource que nous avons pour nous tirer d'affaire, et de rendre la nation maîtresse en payement des dettes publiques, et pour la mettre en état de se soutenir au cas qu'un voisin puissant s'avisât de nous attaquer. Je crois que nous aurions bien fait de commencer par l'établissement de la banque nationelle. Nous aurions épargné par la les convulsions dans lesquelles nous nous trouverons peut-être par le haussement des actions. Mais il vaut mieux se prévaloir des circonstances présentes pour l'établir encore pendant cette séance du parlement que de la différer plus longtemps ; car quand notre compagnie de la Mer du Sud sera une fois bien établie, c'est a sçavoir si elle ne se servira pas de toutes ses forces pour empêcher l'établissement de la banque nationelle, laquelle sûrement rendra la nation et le gouvernement moins dépendants de cette puissante compagnie. . . .

Du reste, Milord, soyez bien persuadé que Law travaille nuit et jour pour trouver les moyens de perdre notre nation, et il se flatte que cette haussement de nos actions lui fournira une occasion favorable de réussir. Il vous importe de vous servir de tout votre savoir-faire pour le contre-carrer. . . .

Le roi d'Espagne a demandé le cordon bleu pour son fils nouveau-né, que M. Mauleorier doit porter. Pour ce ministre, personne ne l'avoue. L'Abbé Dubois dit que c'est un qui parle très peu, et qui, quand il parle, ne dit rien. L'Abbé Landi paroit douter si l'on le recevra en Espagne. . . .

M. Law a plus de pouvoir que jamais sur l'esprit de M. le Duc d'Orleans. Il est quatre ou cinq heures tous les jours avec lui. Law le fait fort de bouleverser l'Angleterre à l'occasion présente de haussement des nos actions. Le parlement [de Paris] a refusé d'enregistrer l'Edit qui réduit les interêts à 2 per cent. On parle fort d'un lit de justice.

James Maclauchlin (Irish Priest) to the Earl of Stair.

PARIS, *April* 19, 1720.

I did propose very often to acquaint your lordship of the zeal and desire I had to render service to your lordship, but never could presume the liberty, till now hearing your lordship is to be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Your lordship will be pleased to understand that I am a person who most probably can detect and make manifest all the schemes and disaffected persons against the present king and government of England, inasmuch as I have had the opportunity to know intimately such as do carry on to the height of their power the interest of the Pretender in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and also the method used commonly by their correspondents in this country to the said purpose. Moreover, it is my fixed resolution and end designed to conform myself to the Church of England, and I hope in God soon will make your lordship sensible of my loyalty to King George in declaring his enemies, and also of my zeal to the Church of England in procuring (acting for) her children. For I fear not to say that I know the principles of the Church of England and of Rome, after finishing my philosophy and divinity in this city.

The bearer, also, is resolved to be a child of the said Church, and to show his service upon any occasion to your lordship. He most humbly begs your lordship's protection; we are brothers' children, and equally inclined herein. Your lordship will be pleased to give him directions how I may have the honour to speak to your lordship.

The Duke of Montrose to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *May* 29, 1720.*

. . . Since I received your last I had some conversation with my Lord Stanhope about you. I am very much his humble servant, and he knows the respect I have for you. I took occasion to put him in mind of what he had told me upon his return from France, which gave me a great deal of pleasure. It was, that your lordship and he had parted very good friends, and that you understood one another well upon the whole, though sentiments had differed in some things; that he had always done you justice with the king, and that he was persuaded I would see that when you returned I should be so far from seeing any coldness appear, that there would be a hearty concurrence between you and them who equally meant the king's service. . . . I am sure he said that he had constantly done you justice, being persuaded himself of the services you had done, and taking all opportunities of representing to the king the usefulness of them; that it was certain the king could employ no man that was an abler minister, and that he (Lord Stanhope) should be exceedingly pleased, therefore, that you remained where you was, if so be that it was acceptable to the Regent; and that if he (the Regent) would take some way to signify that, it would remove the single objection there could be against your staying. I said Sir Robert Sutton was to set out in a few days; to that he answered——

(*The leaf containing the remainder of this letter is awanting.*)

* Stair Papers, vol. xxiv.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVII.

John Ross (Land-steward at Castle Kennedy) to the Countess-Dowager of Stair.

STRANRAER, *July* 20, 1721.

. . . If more dragoons be at Castle Kennedy than was last year, they will need more blankets than were provided last year for them. And there must be another little house put up for some of them to lie in. Sir John M'Caull's old house will hold but two beds; and they will not be so far from their horses in the winter as the change-houses at the Kirk or the Lochend. Neither will it be so proper for them to lie in the hay-lofts, lest by their candle, through carelessness or drink, they may set the hay in fire. They will also demand a pound of candle a-week. I have caused stack up 300 loads of peats, for the old peats are done. The barn of Carscreuch fell this spring. I was obliged to go to the wood for timber, for it cannot be wanted for keeping the hay in winter. There must also be a barn built in Culhorn for managing the crop this year and in time coming.

Lord Crighton to the Countess-Dowager of Stair at Edinburgh.*

LONDON, *May* 4, 1728.†

MY DEAR MADAM,—Yesterday I had the honour and

* Lord Crighton, nephew of the Earl of Stair, afterwards Earl of Dumfries and Stair, had at this time a troop in the Enniskillens.

† Stair Papers, vol. xxiv. This letter is franked by Lord Stair—"free, Stair"—the frank being put under the address on the left side in the way that afterwards became so common. It is the only post-letter I have remarked as franked in the Stair collection.

pleasure to receive your ladyship's letter of the 27th, for which I return you many thanks. I have ordered five pound of the same green tea you had last to be put up in pound canisters and addressed to your ladyship. It is to be delivered to my father, and he will take care to send it or carry it himself. This day I saw General Evans' and Brigadier Churchill's regiments reviewed. They made a fine appearance, and his Majesty was so well pleased with them that it was almost seven o'clock before we came back to dinner. Monday morning at five o'clock I set out for Newbury. I shall lie that night at Reading, and dine at Newbury on Tuesday, where I shall stay till we march to be reviewed. . . . I am sorry to hear my Lady Stair has had another return of her illness. If my most earnest wishes could make her perfectly well, she has them in the sincerest manner. I wish she may recover strength so as to be able to go to the *Goat milk;* I hope that would recover her. I had two horses died on the march, which is a great loss to me; besides every captain is about forty shillings a-day out of pocket by his troop since we came into England, so I shall be quite broke this year, which is very unlucky after I was in a fair way of being out of debt. I have done all that was in my power for that purpose; I have lived at as small expense as was possible since I've been here, and had not the extraordinary expense of the troop and review happened together, I should have been able to make myself perfectly easy. When my sister writes, she must direct for me at Newbury. I wish you good health and all imaginable happiness, and I am ever, with the greatest respect and esteem, your ladyship's most dutiful, &c.

Lord Crighton to the Earl of Stair.

EDINBURGH, *March* 18, 1731.

MY DEAR LORD,—I write to my brother to beg the favour of your lordship to sit to Mr Aikman for me that I might

have the pleasure of having your picture at Lisnoris; but as there is one at Mr Aikman's already that is finished, I shall be satisfied with that, and will not desire your lordship to be at the trouble of sitting again. My father has been very much out of order, and is not yet well, but he proposes to be here on Saturday next in order to go to the wedding, if he is able. The day is not yet fixed that I know of, but so soon as it is, I shall acquaint your lordship.

This letter was to have been sent to the post-house on Thursday, but was forgot. I had, yesterday, a very obliging letter from Lord Aberdeen. The marriage is fixed to Friday the 2d of April.*

* Lord Crighton was about to be married to Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the second Earl of Aberdeen.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIX.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Stair.

WHITEHALL, *April* 30, 1733.

MY LORD,—His Majesty has commanded me to acquaint your lordship that he has no further occasion for your lordship's service as Vice-Admiral of Scotland.—I am, &c.

John Stewart of Phisgill to the Earl of Stair.

(EXTRACT.)

PHISGILL, *Dec.* 29, 1733.

. . . No doubt by this time your lordship knows we are threatened with a new set of Justices of the Peace from Lord Garlies's recommendation, as gives most of your lordship's well-wishers uneasiness in having the powers of the country vested in the minor set of people, which we apprehend to be with no other intent but to give others uneasiness.

The Hon. James Erskine, Lord Grange, to the Earl of Stair.

EDINBURGH, *Aug.* 4, 1733.*

MY LORD,—I intend to be at Alloa, &c., on Monday next but one, and will wait on Colonel Dalrymple. Perhaps it were fit that he and I should talk together about the shire of Clackmannan. If your lordship think so, be pleased to write so to him, and send the letter to me by the bearer, that I may deliver it to the colonel. If your

* Stair Papers, vol. xxv.

lordship's letter to Earl Winchelsea* be ready, it may also be sent to me by the bearer, or afterwards, as you think fit. It gives me the greatest satisfaction in the world to act under your lordship's direction, and that I can in any measure contribute to advance your measures; and I do assure your lordship that I am, with firmness and truth, &c.

The Earl of Stair to Lord Grange.

(Extract.)

Newliston, *Aug.* 6, 1733.†

My Lord,—I send you enclosed my letter to Earl Winchelsea. You may be sure that all our friends will receive you with open arms, and treat you with all the regard and confidence you can desire. Lord Drummore will give you an account of his negotiation. . . .

Bill for the (Town) Council's Dinner charged to the Right Hon. the Earl of Stair by Antoney Armstrong.

Stranraer, *Oct.* 2, 1733.

	£	s	d
Impremos for diner, ...	1	15	0
Ditto for two dozen and a half of wine,‡ . .	2	10	0
Ditto for Aill, ...	0	1	9
Ditto for 3 gils of Cherub, ...	0	0	9
	£4	7	6

Mr Ross,

Pay the above bill to the account of

Stair.

Culhorn, *Oct.* 4, 1733.

(This order is in Lord Stair's handwriting on the bill.)

Stranraer, 5*th March* 1734.—Received allowance in my rent for the above £4, 7s. 6d. sterling.

Antony Armstrong.

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* Daniel, third Earl of Nottingham and seventh Earl of Winchelsea, who had succeeded his father in 1730, was Lord Stair's friend and correspondent of former years as Lord Finch.

† Mar Charter-Chest.

‡ Probably French claret. The spelling of this tavern bill is given as in the original.

Lord Elphinstone to the Earl of Stair.

(Extract.)

Nov. 18, 1733.

Whatever commands your lordship is pleased to honour me with shall be most faithfully executed without reserve. By this time I doubt not but I am out of favour with a great person [Walpole], so I need not hesitate upon my conduct, for in greater disgrace I cannot well be, and I am in no pain about his anger. I shall make these gentlemen your lordship mentions speak out very soon, for it is some time since I desired them not to be rash till we saw what turn things would take. Lord Wigtown is to be with me to-morrow, and I shall use my best endeavours to make him speak and declare himself one way or other, which he has hitherto carefully shunned. Lady Elphinstone and my family beg their compliments may be acceptable to your lordship and Lady Stair.

The Same to the Same.

Lord Erskine was with me this day eight days, and I attended him to the houses of those gentlemen your lordship mentioned to me, and to some other houses where I thought the persons were in a state of uncertainty ; and by hard thrashing and speaking plainly, have got them tied down to Lord Erskine's interest as far as plain words can bind. But I perceive there has been practising amongst the freeholders some time ago, and that their being ignorant of the present situation of things keeps them in a wavering state. . . .

Lieut.-Colonel James Gardiner to the Earl of Stair.

Edinburgh, *Jan.* 5, 1734.

My dear Lord,—The misfortune of a lawsuit has ob-

liged me to return to this place. I have been through all the quarters and saw every troop perform their exercise; they are all in exceeding fine order. I have sent your lordship a return of the strength of the whole. There are some of the recruit horses we had from Mr Arnold that I am not at all in love with. I think with submission that your best method would be to let Mr Raikham buy them in the country; we should have both cheaper and better horses. I think of returning to the regiment, bag and baggage, in the month of March. I wish your lordship many, many happy years, and am, &c.

I must beg the favour of your lordship to get the Duke of Queensberry to favour Mr Dickson of Kilbuchy in his election.

Lord Drummore to the Earl of Stair.

(Extract.)

Edinburgh, *Jan.* 15, 1734.

. . . Here is a pamphlet entitled 'Broad Scotch to all true Scotchmen,' which is very well received. There is a talk more such will appear, and there seems to be a very good disposition to receive them. Pray remember to send down the 'Craftsman,' 'London Evening Post,' and the 'Daily Advertiser,' weekly, to Leonard Urquhart, writer in Edinburgh.

The Same to the Same.

Edinburgh, *Jan.* 25, 1734.

I have a channel of correspondence which I hope will answer till a better is opened; Baillie Arbuthnot, a true friend to the cause, is to manage it, and he has assured

* Stair Papers, vol. xxv. The papers here mentioned were opposition prints. The 'Craftsman' was conducted by Amhurst, Lord Bolingbroke and Mr Pulteney being the principal contributors.

me that he will pawn his life that all the letters you deliver to the gentleman who is to deliver this into your own hand shall most certainly come safe to our hands here. Robert Dundas* has lost his wife ; she was a woman of great worth, and was buried to-day. I am told that upon Wednesday next he sets out. . . .

As the paper for our newspaper which we were obliged to send for from London is now come, our first 'Monitor' (the name of it) is to appear upon Wednesday next. If your lordship would be so good as to cause somebody, by the correspondence I have mentioned, send me down proper hints, we shall take care to put them in a dress proper for this country. Our printing goes on without the least notice; the 'Broad Scotch' has been twice printed. An 'Inquiry into certain things which concern Scotland' has also appeared, a copy of which comes to your lordship by Robert Dundas. Both meet with great approbation, as the 'Remarks' I sent your lordship by Lord Erskine also did. A fresh piece is to show upon Monday next, and upon Wednesday, as I said, our 'Monitor' appears. There is a great appetite for papers of that sort here, I do assure you. As I have wrote fully by Mr Dundas, to which I shall add what casts up before he goes away, I need not trouble your lordship with a long letter now; only I find our sub-ministers give out that the opposition is quite given up, and Sir Robert is to carry everything before him. But we, upon our part, fail not to undeceive the world by telling them that these are but the fictions of the day.

The Same to the Same.

EDINBURGH, *Feb.* 14, 1734.

. . . I perceive that out of affection to your lordship

* Robert Dundas of Arniston, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session. He had been deprived by Sir Robert Walpole of his office of Lord Advocate, retaining his appointment as Dean of the Faculty of Advocates.

in particular, and no doubt for the security of the Protestant succession, a bill is to be brought in to reverse (Lockhart of) Carnwath's attainder. It is bold at this juncture to restore the enemies of the Constitution to dignities on purpose to mortify the best friends of it; but all is of a piece. God grant you success to rescue us from min[isters]. By some accident Peter Lindsay had heard that a paper was coming out, to be called the 'Monitor,' and that it was to contain a paper called "Dr Taylor." I cannot imagine whence he had this information; however, that the fellow might not triumph in the exactness of his intelligence, we have bit him by changing the name, and have called it the 'Thistle,' and have taken the motto (round the figure of a thistle) "Nemo me impune lacesset." We changed also the paper—which I send your lordship enclosed; it has taken infinitely. The performance is H.'s,* but poor Grange is charged commonly with productions of this and every sort.

February 15.

Since Mr Hume Campbell does not set out till to-morrow, I have time further to inform your lordship that this moment I saw a letter in the hands of John M'Gowan, from Mr Stewart of Nigg I think (he is, I am sure, one of your fast friends), by which he tells Mr M'Gowan that he is now certain that Basil Hamilton † is able to count noses with Garlies (who is in town) in Wigtown, and that his lordship will soon be in Galloway, where his presence is absolutely needed. Basil, I hear, is to be in town next week, and the Duke of Hamilton comes in upon Saturday. Would it be proper to deal with Basil to look after the Stewartry, and after he has secured Wigtown, to let it come your lordship's way? I should wish to have your lordship's directions as to this. I have been with Mr Bothwell of Glencorse this

* Probably himself, *Hew* Dalrymple.

† Basil Hamilton of Baldoon, whose eldest son became fourth Earl of Selkirk.

afternoon, who has taken upon him the title of Lord Holyroodhouse. He sets out for London upon Sunday morning in company with Lord Breadalbine—not the best indeed, though his lordship is no dangerous man. Lord Holyroodhouse, as now he is called, intends to apply to his Majesty, by a petition, to have his title, which has lain dormant since the 1635, revived.* . . . I took the liberty to observe to his lordship that at this critical juncture his application would probably give rise to his being much solicited about his future conduct, which I hoped he would beware of, and of clubbing his weight to support (in case he succeeded) a ministry that had become disagreeable to the nation; that the peerage was already too much sunk and undervalued by some (too many of them) in a too mercenary way submitting to support measures hurtful to the country, and, indeed, disgraceful to the dignity of their order and estate; . . . that he would have offers of pensions and so forth, which he might suspect would not be made for any good end. . . . He seemed to be of opinion it was the wisest course for him to take, to avoid all engagements and offending either one or other party at present. But as your lordship will have occasion to see him, you shall have full opportunity to judge what it will be proper to do as to him.

If there are any pamphlets newly come out at London, if no better occasion offers, your lordship may venture to send them down by the post, dividing them if they are too weighty. Several, even anti-ministerial ones, have been sent in that way. Nothing has appeared here in answer to what has been published, except the "Remarker whipp'd," a most disagreeable performance. I hear that the provost intends to say something in answer to the "Inquiry;" but we are not very apprehensive of what his lordship will say,

* The petition here referred to was presented very shortly after, and by his Majesty's command laid before the House of Lords, March 20, 1734; but no determination was ever come to respecting it. The family became extinct in the eighteenth century.—Douglas's Peerage by Wood, *v.* Holyroodhouse.

especially as to the facts, which are most certain. I should be glad to know how our paper is relished in London.

The Same to the Same.

(EXTRACT.)

EDINBURGH, *March* 16, 1734.

. . . Lady Stair, who is now in town, was pleased to communicate to me a proposal your lordship had acquainted her of, of disposing of Newliston to Governor M'Ara. The manner in which she talked upon that subject, the warmth she expressed for your interest, the cheerfulness she showed to part with her country idol, are proofs of her great worth, and the singular affection and regard she has for your lordship, and what I and all your lordship's friends must take as the most obliging instance of her goodness to your family.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XX.

Robert Dalrymple to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *Dec.* 27, 1733.*

. . . I have inquired for a house for your lordship according to your direction. There is a very fine house to be let for the season in Grosvenor Street, two doors nearer Hyde Park than the Square, with coach-house and stables, and a fine large garden, two large rooms and a dressing-room of a floor, all richly furnished, a large hall and staircase; they ask £6 per week, and I believe it may be let for less. There is another house, with the same conveniences, not so richly furnished as the first, but they won't let it under £6, 10s. per week; it is in Grosvenor Street, the same side as Lord Haversham's, two doors from the corner of the square. There is a third also in Grosvenor Street almost opposite to Lord Haversham's, and much the same size, without coach-house and stables, to be let for four guineas a-week. The first, I think, will answer your lordship best, and, with the conveniences your lordship will have, will cost no more than your lordship uses to pay.

The Duke and Duchess of Queensberry are to set out soon for Scotland, and wait here, as I am informed, till they see your lordship. Our courtiers have something of importance on the carpet, for I am told they have summoned all their parliamentary people to be here next week. The

* Stair Papers, vol. xxv.

Prince of Orange is advised by his physicians to go to Bath, and sets out thither on Monday or Tuesday next.

The Earl of Shaftesbury to the Earl of Stair.

(EXTRACT.)

ST GILES, *July* 29, 1734.

. . . No doubt your lordship has long before this time been informed of all the material transactions in these parts, and therefore I shall not trouble you with a repetition of them; only thus much I can't help observing, that some of the most flagrant instances of dishonour have been committed in order to secure the election of persons in favour. The people in employments in this neighbourhood talk of weeding the House of Commons of many they dislike as soon as the parliament meets; particularly that there is to be a petition for Hampshire, where the court met with an unexpected defeat. A little time now will show what will be done. Your lordship's petition (as to the Scotch peers' election), I apprehend, must be brought on early in the session; I suppose there will be no opposition to appointing a day for hearing it. . . .

Hugh Murray Kynnynmond to the Earl of Stair.*

LOCHGELLY (the prettiest place on earth next to Castle Kennedy and Newliston), *April* 11, 1737.

MY GOOD LORD,—I take the liberty, when I send my Lady Stair's quey, to beg of your lordship to have, if possible, a glimpse of daylight in this dark scene. . . . The holidays are come, and all motions from his Royal Highness's friends

* Second son of Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, and cousin of Lord Stair. Mr Murray Kynnynmond's discovery of an analogy between the case of Robert III. of Scotland and his son the unfortunate Duke of Rothesay, and the existing situation of affairs in the royal family, must have been a great effort of ingenuity.

seem to be at an end. I sent a little piece to London under the name of Favonius, as I thought tolerably apposite to that case—[viz., of the Prince of Wales and his father]—David, the Prince of Scotland in Robert the Third's time. The dissimilitudes I took care to cover; and in 'Common-Sense' some weeks ago it was said that it was to be published the first vacancy, and 'Rusty Bacon' was to come next.* Now 'Rusty Bacon' is published and the other postponed—a mark, I fear, that there are negotiations elsewhere than at Madrid. If your lordship has leisure, I beg one word, if possible, of comfort; if not, at least a word. If there is nothing good to be said, evil can be no higher than in its meridian, and we may live to see it yet.

P.S.—Let me beg of your lordship to be the introductor of Mrs Bell's present to my Lady Stair.† She is at this time one of your lean beauties, but we thought it good for her shapes. The bearer is the learnedest man on this side of the water; a very honest man, and my plight-anchor, but half-way between Columella's age and this.

The Hon. James Erskine (of Grange) to the Earl of Stair.

EDINBURGH, *Oct.* 7, 1737.

I was just now told by the Marquis of Tweeddale,‡ who saw you at Hamilton, that he believed your lordship would be returned to Newliston yesternight. I would do myself the honour to wait on you to-morrow were I not engaged to be in East Lothian. I think the Duke of Montrose has taken the final resolution as to Stirlingshire, and seems surprised that all the world, and especially Lord Erskine

* The periodical paper called 'Common-Sense' was begun in London in February 1737, succeeding 'Fog's Journal.' It had for contributors Lord Lyttleton, Lord Chesterfield, and other members of the opposition.—Drake's Essays.

† The quey or young cow previously mentioned.

‡ Lord Tweeddale had now the chief management of Scotch affairs.

and I, don't fully approve of it. I waited on him here, and yesternight he did me the honour to sit about two hours alone with me in my own chamber. His Grace says it is the public interest he has at heart, and that his son is most likely to carry it. At the same time, he complains of the disposal of that county at last election, though he says, it being now over, it is no more to be minded, but that it must not be so again ; and then he talks of his family interest in that shire, where he has so many friends and dependers, and the largest part of his estate, and where he or his son are to build their principal house ; and he beats down as low as he can his interest and influence in Renfrew, Dumbarton, and Perth. He talks of the sacrifice he made of his interest in that shire at last election on account of Lord Erskine and me ; it has always been acknowledged with gratitude and great honour for his Grace, nor have we mentioned the reluctancy he showed at first, nor that his own people thought the conjunction of Lord Erskine's small interest at that time was needful enough for his Grace's great interest, that he might not again be defeated there, and that the common cause might prevail. . . .

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXII.

The Hon. James Erskine to the Earl of Stair.

(EXTRACT.)

SUNDAY EVENING, *Oct.* 14, 1739.*

. . . I am sorry that now Earl Marchmont is gone for London; but your lordship's letters must not go by the post, and I know of nobody going thither sooner than myself, which will make it late ere they be delivered. If I hear of any poster who may be trusted, I suppose it will be best to send them by him. I wish to God they may persuade and excite those who wish what is right. Others must receive a strong measure of the grace of God before any real honest thing can be expected from them. The instructions and speech of the liverymen of London is a fine example, and I hope certain persons will not now grudge to see the like in the north since it began there. . . .

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIV.

Lieut.-Colonel James Gardiner to the Earl of Stair.

BANKTON,* *Jan.* 23, 1740.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am informed that your lordship against next March has the presentation of a girl to the Trades Hospital. I must therefore beg the favour of your lordship, providing that you are not already engaged, to present one Robina Bull. It would be a great act of charity and a great relief to a poor family much reduced in their circumstances. I don't know but Lord Drummore may have spoke to your lordship in favour of this girl already, for I am very sure he undertook to do it some time ago. Be pleased to make my compliments acceptable to my Lady Stair. Wishing you both all happiness in time and in eternity, I remain, &c.

My wife begs her compliments to my Lady Stair.

Charles, Lord Cathcart, to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *May* 15, 1740.

Four days ago I had the pleasure to receive your lordship's letter from Mr Haliburton. Since that time I have been at Gravesend to take leave of his Majesty. And though, till I have more time and meet with a proper conveyance, I shall not enter upon making any answer to it, I

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi. The primitive little mansion of Bankton, near Prestonpans, on the right-hand side of the Berwick railway from Edinburgh, was the property and residence of Colonel Gardiner, close to which he fell in 1745, while attempting to rally the fugitives at the battle of Prestonpans.

cannot omit this first opportunity to assure your lordship that I am extremely thankful to you for this fresh mark of your friendship.

For some time people have been much divided in their opinions about the squadron from Cadiz. It has been thought to have sailed for the West Indies, and it has been believed to be at Ferrol. The intelligence the Ministry have had this morning confirms them in the belief that it is at Ferrol. And they have had letters from Admiral Butcher which relieve us from the pain we have for some time been in about him. The Spaniards are getting transports together, and the Duke of Ormond was daily expected on the coast of Galicia. If the expectation of the Spaniard is by these preparations to put a stop to the expedition, I make no doubt they will be disappointed, for I think we have nothing for it but to get out of this scrape with honour and advantage. Lady Cathcart makes your lordship her compliments. We join in the offer of our most humble services to the ladies.

*Robert Miller (Land-steward) to the Earl of Stair.**

(Extract.)

Newliston, *Aug.* 16, 1740.

Since my last I have almost covered all the stable park with dung and earth from the head-rig with the help of the sheep-flakes; which with the help it has gotten may be able to produce a very good crop of any grain whatsomever. I begin against Monday to horse-hoe our turnip and cabbage. The turnips at the brae-kiln are very bad, few of them appearing, so that your lordship may put that piece of ground into any other use you please; I am sure it's in great heart. The turnip in all probability everywhere will be but small this season. I wish your lordship would send but a very few black cattle to be stall-fed here this winter;

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi.

not but that our grass will be good, but our fodder shall be very scarce, having little or no hay; and the prices will be very extravagant in the country. Our malt is now done, which will be a very great loss upon us especially in time of harvest, when it will be very dear. . . .

The Same to the Same.

NEWLISTON, *Sept.* 7, 1740.

As for the lint, I have already rippled a good deal of the best and laid it in the water, and what remains shall be stacked and covered in the best manner I can.* As for the stable park I shall take care to observe your lordship's directions, and shall get it ploughed and sown with all expedition. The field betwixt the mill and Kirkliston I have already ploughed all over, excepting a few rows of turnips that promise well; which field will yield a good crop of Lincolnshire barley, as your lordship proposes. The cowaners† are just now building the cross-dyke to the eastward of the gardens; and the backing of the dyke along Lindsay's Craigs is now pretty well advanced, but the harvest interfering will make us go more slowly on for some time. As for the building at Milridge, I take it to be the most spacious farm-courts in Scotland, and the mason-work of it will be finished before winter; but as for the roofs there is not one inch of timber come here for them yet, but Mr Adams promises faithfully it shall be here to-morrow, which at any rate will be too late for pitching this season. As for the black cattle, we have just now seventeen remaining of the forty-five cows that came last; they gave last week upwards of fifty shillings free of expenses. The wedders being now most part slaughtered, excepting a few I have set apart for the use of the house, sold last

* It has since the time of Lord Stair been considered bad husbandry in Scotland to grow flax at all, as a crop injurious to and exhaustive of the soil.

† Cowaners or Cowans were inferior masons who built dry-stone dykes.—Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.

week much about the same price as I told your lordship formerly. . . . I am afraid our West-farm barley and oats will not cut these two weeks yet; your lordship has a note of your threaves of wheat upon each spot.

ITEMS OF AN ACCOUNT (in money sterling) of DEPURSEMENTS (*sic*) for the use of the Right Hon. the Earl of STAIR'S family at the STAIR and CULHORN, 1740, laid out by JOHN STEWART, Butler.

	£	s.	d.
1. *At the Stair* (*Ayrshire*) *going to Galloway* :—			
To two salmond, 4/, and one quarter mutton, 2/6,	0	6	6
To shoulder of lamb with head, 2/3, and 8 lb. candle, 3/4,	0	5	7
To muir-fowl, one bottle rum, and butter,	0	9	7
To beef, £1, 3s. 9d., and 3 quarters mutton, 7/6,	1	11	3
2. *At Culhorn** (*near Castle Kennedy*), 1740 :—			
To 10 ducks, 4/4, and a salmond, 2/6,	0	6	10
To grey paper, eggs, and herring,	0	3	0
To a poor woman, fish, and the Irish fishers,	0	2	4
To 7 dozen whitings,	0	2	0
To trouts, eggs, and barm,	0	3	6
To 4 dozen eggs and 2 dozen herrings,	0	1	2
To 4 lb. currants and 4 lb. raisins,	0	5	0
To 3 lb. hopps,	0	3	0
To 95 wild fowl,	2	2	0
To barm, 1/, and the Stranraer music, 2/6,	0	3	6
To herring, 1/6, and cords for the jack, 3/4,	0	4	10
To the carriage of 20 dozen wine,	4	6	9
To the cook-man's wages from 10th July to 4th Oct.,	0	15	0
To one bottle rum and one do. brandy,	0	3	4
3. *At Stair when returning from Galloway* :—			
To expense of two horses from Culhorn to Stair,	0	3	0
To the baggage-men to Stair and back to Culhorn,	1	2	0
To two pair wild ducks,	0	1	6
To a woman that helped the cook,	0	1	6
To my own board-wages from Culhorn to Newliston, and a horse from Stair to Newliston,	0	9	11
To ale to the family at Stair,	0	6	5

* When living at Culhorn the Earl of Stair would no doubt kill his own beef and mutton, for neither of which the butler has any items of consequence.

The butler inserts at the end of the account of charge for disbursements a discharge account of occasional payments to himself of cash on the part of Lord Stair, the discharge account closing with the following items :—

By cash from Baillie Ker for old copper,	£1	13	1½
By do. for sheep-skins and kitchen-grease,	1	12	3

The balance on the account in the butler's favour is vouched by him as paid in full.*

Robert Miller (Land-steward) to the Earl of Stair.

(Extract.)

Newliston, *April* 22, 1742.

I keep the park below the Belvidere for cut grass to our horses in summer, so that there remains for summer pasture the Shield-folds, &c., with the grass about the stables. There is just now of cattle upon the farm, besides our sheep, 14 cows and a bull, 17 work-oxen, 8 bullocks, 9 coach-horses, 3 saddle-horses, 2 chase-mares, and 10 working-horses; so that there is 64 in haill, which will do pretty much to keep down the grass.

George Dundas to the Earl of Stair.

London, *May* 4, 1742.†

I had a letter last post from my spouse telling me that all at Newliston were in good health and regretting much that she had made an appointment with some friends to go to the Goat-whey this summer, and had taken their quarters before she had heard of Lady Stair's thinking of going to Moffat, otherwise she would have had the pleasure of

* Stair Papers, vol. xxviii. † Ibid., vol. xxvi.

waiting on her ladyship to that place. I believe Moffat water would be fully as good for her as the Goat-whey; the place only was not so agreeable to her, but Lady Stair's company would do more than make up that loss.

We here are now afraid that the Secret Committee will keep sitting till August, which will make us have a very long session. . . .

Extract from the Codicil to the Duchess of Marlborough's Will.

And whereas John, Earl of Stair, owes me the sum of £1000 upon bond; and whereas his wife bought some things for me in France and always declined letting me know what they cost, I desire the said Earl of Stair to pay my Lady Stair what she so laid out for me out of the principal money and interest due on the said bond; and the remainder of the principal and interest I desire him to accept of; and I direct the said bond to be delivered up to him.

And as to any more sums of money which by my account with the bank or by any memorandum of mine the said Earl may appear to have received of me (for which, as I took no security, there is no evidence but his own letters), I direct that no demand be ever made for the same.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXV.

*King's Letter of Credence for the Earl of Stair to the States-General.**

March 20, 1742.

. . . Comme nous avons extrêmement à cœur non seulement de serrer de plus en plus les nœuds d'amitié qui sont entre nous et votre République, mais dans une conjoncture aussi délicate que celle-ci de concerter avec votre République les moyens les plus efficaces pour le maintien des libertés de l'Europe et la sûreté réciproque de nos Etats ; nous avons bien voulu choisir pour cet effet notre très fidèle et très bien aîmé cousin Jean, Comte de Stair, Feld-Maréchal de nos armées, dont les qualités éminentes et son affection pour notre service et celui de votre République vous sont de longue main connues. Nous l'avons revêtu du caractère de notre ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire à fin de vous marquer à quel point nous souhaitons d'augmenter l'union très étroite qui subsiste entre nous et votre Etat, et de concourir avec vous en tout ce qui pourra contribuer à rétablir et solidement assurer le repos de l'Europe et un juste équilibre, &c.

Secret Instructions to the Earl of Stair.

March 23, 1742.

ART. 2.—You shall apply yourself more particularly to, and do all in your power towards the support and encour-

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvi.

agement of such members of the Republic as have been instrumental in procuring the late augmentation of their forces in conjunction with Mr Trevor (British envoy at the Hague), and are favourers of the English system and alliance in opposition to French measures; and you shall give the strongest assurances of our resolution both as king and as elector to cultivate the friendship of the States preferably to that of all other Powers, and to make a common cause with them in everything tending to our mutual preservation, to the security of the Protestant religion, and to the general good of Europe.

ART. 3.—You are already sufficiently acquainted with, and are to set forth to the ministers and other well-intentioned members of that Government, the great and imminent dangers which we apprehend to all those valuable objects we have just mentioned, from the designs, operations, and consequences of the present great and dangerous confederacy against the House of Austria; and more particularly our just fears of the Crown of France being enabled, as there can be no doubt of her being disposed, to make use of the uncontrollable power she will have procured by the subversion of that family for seizing upon the places of the Austrian Netherlands and overthrowing that barrier, the possession of which is the only true security of the Republic against her ambitious views, and upon which the support not only of the figure which the maritime powers have been hitherto enabled to make in Europe, but their very liberties and properties do so much depend. You are therefore to observe to them, that as it has pleased God to give such success during this winter to the arms of the Queen of Hungary as must oblige France to continue still to her allies those vast supplies of men and money which are necessary for the prosecution of her views in the Empire, and as notwithstanding those successes neither the total subversion of the power of the said queen, so essential to the support of the liberties of Europe, can in all human appearance be prevented, nor our joint barrier

against France on the side of the Netherlands be maintained without some vigorous measures be immediately taken on our part and that of the Republic in favour of the House of Austria, we are therefore ourselves ready to enter into such measures; and being convinced, in consequence of what is above [stated], that this is the properest and most favourable, if not the only time for putting them in execution, we have sent you thither to inform the States-General of our sentiments and intentions therein as a Power of the same religion, under the same engagements to the Queen of Hungary, and united to us most firmly not only by ties of friendship and mutual good wishes, but by a community of interests and dangers; and that you are to exhort and press the Republic in our name to concur in the same salutary views, and to proceed to the execution of them in conjunction with us with the utmost expedition; and that you have farther our commands and full powers for settling and adjusting with the States-General the manner of doing it with the greatest advantage to our mutual interests and furtherance of the common cause.

[By additional "Secret Instructions" of same date, Lord Stair is instructed that as soon as he shall have opened his Majesty's general sentiments and intentions to the persons he was ordered to address himself to, he was to proceed to let them know "that we are fully determined to send over immediately in concert with the States a body of 16,000 men of our troops to join with their forces in the barrier towns and with those of the Queen of Hungary, and to act in concert for attaining the ends before mentioned."]

The Lord Chancellor Hardwicke to the Earl of Stair.

Nov. 29, 1742.

I heartily ask pardon of your lordship for delaying so long to acknowledge the honour of your most obliging letter, for which I stand in need of much indulgence and

excuse. But the beginning of a session of Parliament and the conclusion of the term have so entirely engrossed my days and hours, that I have not till now had any time to return your lordship my thanks, as I ought, for a favour which deserves so much. I am highly sensible of your abundant goodness to my son, whose heart is also full of the warmest gratitude and duty to your lordship for the very condescending and kind notice which you have been pleased to take of him, and of which I presume to entreat the continuance. He is very young, but I think disposed to be diligent and to learn; and I esteem it his chief happiness to set out in his profession under your lordship's command and protection, and to have the opportunity of forming himself by the orders and example of so great a master. God grant your lordship a continuance of the best health and spirits to go through the great labours and fatigues which you undergo for the service of your king and country, in which I am satisfied nobody can exert greater abilities or a more ardent zeal.

The Session has opened with the best and most promising appearances for maintaining his Majesty's measures and the true national interest, by which your lordship will find yourself vigorously supported in the important affairs in which you are engaged. No person in the world can wish or augur for your lordship greater success and glory than I do; and though you do me too much honour in supposing (amongst the great number of your friends) my concurrence to be of any weight, your lordship may always depend upon my most sincere and zealous endeavours for your service.

Robert Dalrymple to the Earl of Stair.

London, *May* 14, 1742.

I thought to have prevailed with her Grace of Marlborough not to send over the tapestry to your lordship, as I imagined it would be attended with some trouble and inconveniency to her Grace; but notwithstanding she thought

fit to send them two days ago to my house with the enclosed letter. There are three of the seven pieces that she sent that answer the description of your lordship's tapestry, as mentioned in the printed catalogue of your lordship's sale of goods; the other four pieces I think do not: however, I was not to make any questions about that with her Grace, and as she presses that they may be sent soon to your lordship, I shall do it by the first opportunity. Our folks here are making the necessary preparations for sending our troops for the queen of Hungary. I hope they will do good service. We think ourselves happy, as they are, to be under your lordship's command.

John Earl of Loudoun to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *April* 26, 1742.

Since I writ to your lordship yesterday, nothing new has happened here but the appointing of two brigadiers more to serve abroad, which was done this day—the Earl of Rothes and Mr Frampton. To-morrow the king goes to Blackheath to see General Howard's and Durour's regiments march by, as they go on board with their knapsacks. He sets out from hence at eight. I send your lordship your commission as governor of Minorca enclosed. It came to hand but this afternoon. . . . I wish your lordship all health and happiness and success in your negotiation.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Stair.

WHITEHALL, *June* 10, 1743.*

Money, the messenger, brought me last night the honour of your Excellency's letter of the $\frac{2}{13}$ inst., enclosing duplicates of your several despatches to Lord Carteret.

I was extremely glad to find the great cheerfulness and

* Stair Papers, vol. xxvii.

spirit that appeared in the officers and soldiers under your Excellency's command, when they thought themselves so near being attacked. It is very evident that whatever M. de Noailles' intention might be in passing the Rhine, he did not afterwards think proper to attack his Majesty's troops. I must congratulate your Excellency upon the continuance of the good success of the queen of Hungary's army in Bavaria. It is the general opinion here that M. Broglio's design is to retire with the French army from thence. I find by letters from Hanover that his Majesty intended to set out on Sunday last for the army, and I hope I may now congratulate your lordship upon his Majesty's safe arrival there.

The Duke of Richmond to the Earl of Stair.*

WESEL, *June* 15 (N.S.), 1743.

I am to acquaint your Excellency that all his Majesty's horses and equipages will arrive about the third or fourth of next month at the army, and I take for granted that you will accordingly give such directions as you think proper to the Quartermaster-General for their reception.

Count Kevenhüller (Queen of Hungary's General) to the Earl of Stair.

CAMP DE PAISENFELD, *June* 16, 1743.†

MILORD, — D'autant que celle de votre Excellence au 4 Juin m'a fait plaisir d'apprendre qu'elle approuvoit les opérations de notre armée, et qu'elle m'assura de pouvoir tenir les ennemis en échec jusqu'à que ses forces puissent joindre, autant étois-je frappé par celle du 10 de ce mois, qu'ayant passé le Mayn, elle ait été obligée de le repasser. J'ai vû dans le temps que je fais ce métier que quand deux

* Charles, second Duke of Richmond, at this time a Major-General, was of the staff of general officers for South Britain, and attended the king during the campaign. He was present at the battle of Dettingen.

† Stair Papers, vol. xxvii.

armées agissent et qu'elles ne conviennent pas d'un plan de campagne, que jamais les choses vont bien.

Nous ne pouvions de notre coté faire autre chose que maintenir la Bavière cet hiver, ce qui ne nous a pas coûté peu de peine dans un pays qui étoit entièrement consommé par les armées. Quelle peine et défiance pour amasser les vivres, et singulièrement les fourages et compléter les régiments à temps! Tout cela s'est fait dans l'intention de prévenir l'ennemi en campagne, comme effectivement nous l'ouvrîmes, sans que l'herbe fût dehors. Nous avons par la gagné les avantages sur les ennemies en les délogeant de tous leurs postes, et les chassant, pour ainsi dire, dans vos mains. Nous ne pouvions faire davantage, ignorant ce que vous pouviez ou vouliez faire. . . .

L'armée de France n'a encore passé le Danube, et se tient sous le canon d'Ingoldstadt. Les Bavarois se tiennent à Neubourg; il y a apparence qu'ils passent le Danube. La dernière nouvelle que votre Excellence nous a donnée nous fait tenir bride en main, car elle sait d'elle-même qu'il faut être preparé pour les évènements contraires aussi. Nous ne pouvons ainsi continuer à opérer avec cette vivacité que nous voudrions bien, sans être informé de ce qu'elle peut ou veut faire. Au bien que quand les choses sont bien concertées, on peut se prévaloir de braveur des troupes, et de l'ascendant que nous avons déjà sur l'ennemi. Votre Excellence peut-être assurée que nous ne perdrons pas un moment de temps, et ne laisserons point échapper la moindre occasion.

(*Memorandum in Lord Stair's handwriting, and signed by him.*)

Aschaffenbourg, *June* 25, 1743.

The prisoners sent back from the French army are not to be employed in the service by carrying arms till they are exchanged by other prisoners, which will be notified to the respective regiments. All servants deserting from the French to be brought to the headquarters to be examined,

and if it be found that they have robbed their masters, they are to be sent back to the French camp.

As information has been given that several deserters of the regiment of cuirassiers and one of the carabiniers who came over from the French camp some days ago had stole several horses besides their own, orders to be given that a strict inquiry should be made after such horses, and if they are found, they shall be brought to the headquarters in order to be sent back to the French camp. All the above points to be given out in orders.

The Duc de Noailles to the Earl of Stair.

Camp de Seligenstadt, *June* 30, 1743.

Monsieur,—Je vous envoye le Sr. de Silhouette, commissaire des guerres attaché particulièrement auprès de notre personne, pour traiter provisionellement avec celui qu'il vous plaira de nommer de votre part ce qui regarde l'échange et la rançon des prisonniers de guerre, ainsi que le soin et la sureté des malades et des blessés. J'ai déjà ordonné qu'on prit soin des malades qui sont restés à Aschaffenbourg, et qui, suivant la convention que vous m'avez proposée, ne seront point retenus prisonniers. J'ai fait ramassé ici près de 400 blessés, qu'on a mis separement et dont on prend soin comme des notres. Dès que les premiers arrangements auront été fixés de part et d'autre, on pourra faire un traité suivant les formes ordinaires à fin que l'on sache sur quoi compter, et que si l'on est dans le cas de batailler on puisse le faire comme de braves et honnêtes gens qui servent par attachement pour leur prince et leur patrie sans cette haine et cette cruanté qu'il faut laisser aux nations barbares. J'ai chargé, &c.,

General de Noailles.

MEMORIAL (translated from the French) presented by F.M. the Earl of STAIR to KING GEORGE II., stating his reasons for resigning the chief command of the Army.

(*From a MS. in possession of the Earl of Stair not in the bound series of "Stair Papers."*)

Sept. 4, 1743.

The march from Aschaffenbourg was made entirely without my knowledge. I got into my coach in the morning, resolved to continue there during all the march; but being afterwards informed that the French were passing the Mayn and advancing to attack us, I immediately mounted on horseback and made all the dispositions proper for the drawing up of our army in order of battle, which I executed without any confusion. Meeting Count Neuperg soon after, I informed him of the dispositions I had made, and he approved them entirely. This general was of opinion that the enemy's design was not to attack us. Your Majesty coming up afterwards, I had the honour to acquaint you with every thing I had done, and you expressed in strong terms your approbation of all.

I shall not take notice of what happened during the action. Your Majesty knows that my opinion was, that without losing any time we should make all the advantage we could of the victory we had gained. When the army arrived at Hanau, I proposed to seize on Hochst, or lay a bridge over the Mayn to pass that river, and to post our army in such a manner as to hinder the enemy from getting back over the Rhine, which, from what had passed on this side the Danube, I judged would soon happen. I pressed the same advice with your Majesty by means of General Ligonier: I am utterly ignorant how it came to pass that it was not followed.

I proposed afterwards to lay bridges over the Mayn on

the side of Hanau, that thereby we might be in a condition to make all possible advantage of the enemy's conduct, in case they should think fit to quit that river.

This being over, I told your Majesty there was still only one means left of maintaining your superiority over the French—viz., to embark all the foot, to send them down the Rhine, and march them with all possible expedition towards Flanders. I cannot help still repeating the same advice.

I have received several marks of contempt for my advices, even in the view of the whole army, particularly of the English troops. Posts of command that became vacant, and which used to be disposed of by the recommendation of the Commander-in-chief, were given away without my knowledge, and some particular generals have been named to command at the head of the line whilst I was there present.

I have served under the two greatest generals of their time [William III. and the Duke of Marlborough]. Their confidence and favour have procured me a knowledge of the plans and dispositions which they made for operations. At the late king's accession to the crown, I was sent ambassador to the court of France. My conduct at that court is sufficiently known.

I had the misfortune not to please your Majesty's ministers, but this never in the least cooled my zeal for the advancement of your glory and the public good, as far as was in my power.

In 1734 I got a plan delivered to your Majesty for forming an army upon the Moselle, which would infallibly have made you arbiter of Europe. When M. Maillebois marched into Bohemia, I formed another plan for assembling an army in Flanders, with which, had the plan been put in execution, it had been easy to penetrate as far as Paris.

No ambition nor any hope of raising my fortune could at my age have engaged me to quit my retirement; no other motive but the hope of contributing to your glory and of

being useful to the public could ever have drawn me from thence.

I flatter myself that in regard to what I have here represented to your Majesty, you will be pleased to think the Lord Stair an honest man, though a stranger to art and cunning.

I shall leave it to your Majesty as my political testament, *never to separate yourself from the House of Austria.* If ever you do so, France will treat you as she did Queen Anne and all the courts that are guided by her counsels.

I hope your Majesty will give me leave to retire to my plough without any mark of your displeasure.

To this memorial is adjected the following note:—

N.B.—Lord Stair had offered several times before to resign his command, but his offers were rejected till he presented this memorial.

Leopold, Prince of Anhalt, to the Earl of Stair.

(Extract.)

Dessau, *Oct.* 23, 1743.

. . . Je ne saurois m'empêcher de féliciter votre Excellence de la gloire qu'elle a eue de battre les Francois, et de se distinguer à sa coutume, et comme elle a toujours fait, dans cette éclatante journée. Mais votre Excellence peut être assuré en même temps qu'il me touche le plus sensiblement du monde, qu'après cette grande journée on n'a pas fait plus de réflexion sur son merite et son savoir faire, et qu'au contraire ses ennemis ont trouvé l'occasion de chagriner votre Excellence d'une telle manière qu'elle a eu raison de prendre le parti qu'elle a choisi dans une occasion si delicate. Cependant je suis parfaitement persuadé que votre Excellence se distinguera si bien de ses ennemis par sa fidelité et son zèle pour la patrie que dans peu tout sera redressé.—Agréez, &c.,

Leopold, P. d'Anhalt.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS XXVI AND XXVII.

[The following stanzas (dated Nov. 18, 1743) are from an anonymous MS. poem "On Lord Stair's Resignation," the author appearing from the preface to have been an officer in the army under his lordship's command in Germany.*

Let other poets fawn in flatt'ring lays
On princes, and their favourites loudly praise;
Mine be the theme neglected worth to sing,
And stand its friend, tho' injured by a king.
Virtue has charms that nothing can deface,
And often shines the brighter in disgrace,
As the true stone which artist's hand refines,
Though much impaired, with double lustre shines.

. . . . . .

What joys arose in patriot breasts to see
In Stair their king and country too agree,
That merit was not such an odious thing
But still could share even honours from a king!
Success seemed certain when they heard thy name,
And saw a Dettingen before it came.

Again Britannia's welfare fired thy breast,
And made thee for its good forsake thy rest.
What else could tempt thee from thy rural fields,
Thy plough, those joys that sweet retirement yields?
Gain thou abhorr'st, the flights of youth were o'er,
Of fame and titles thou hadst enough before.

* Stair Papers, vol. xxviii.

What long experience in the martial art,
What the maturest judgment could impart,
What we could hope for from the calmest thought,—
'Twas thus you acted and 'twas thus you fought.
Thy deeds shall bear through future times thy name,
And Dettingen for ever sound thy fame.
Oh, had we by thy sage advice been led,
Had we pursued the victory as they fled,
France would have wept the numbers of her slain,
And the famed Danube yielded to the main.
When other counsel was preferred to thine,
The brightest part to act was to resign,
To give those titles up which, without stain
To fame, to honour, you could not retain.

. . . . . .

The Hon. Geo. Dalrymple (Baron of Exchequer) to the Earl of Stair.

(EXTRACT.)

EDINBURGH, *Feb.* 28, 1744.

I am but a very bad politician, and things have been so dark for some time past that my weak reason was not able to comprehend them, so that I thought my best way was to be silent and not to trouble you with my letters. But since his Majesty has been pleased to restore you to his favour and placed you at the head of his army, I do with a great deal of pleasure wish you all manner of joy, and I hope that by your fate other great men shall think it their interest to be always firm and steady in their king and country's cause. For though sometimes virtue may be oppressed by the too much power of selfish and wicked men, yet such is the nature and force of virtue that soon or late it gets the better of all its enemies, and after a short and unjust disgrace shall shine brighter than before. . . .

Alex. Brodie, Esq., to the Earl of Stair.

LONDON, *March* 14, 1747.

MY GOOD LORD,—The baron having put me in mind

of my promise of writing to your lordship, I have only to say that I know that John Young wrote everything material, and was as well informed as I was except as to what passed in Parliament, where nothing remarkable has happened of late; but I believe we shall have some diversion upon the Jurisdiction bill, of which I would be glad to know your lordship's sentiments, since they might contribute to the regulating my own. Meantime I judge it may not be disagreeable to your lordship to hear the substance of what passed at my Lord Lovat's trial, so far as it is gone; and therefore I presume to send you a compressed account of it, according to the best of my memory. They say the ladies are to solicit that his life be pardoned, and he confined during life; and they talk of not only pardoning his son, but of giving him the estate. They also talk of General B. going first to Holland and from thence to Scotland to command. I have not been abroad to-day, so know not if this day has produced any thing new; so I have only to add that I have the honour to be, with the utmost regard and esteem, &c.

In the inventory made after Lord Stair's death (dated May 9, 1747) of the live stock at Culhorn,* the prices (in sterling money) of the chief portion of the cattle and horses valued in the inventory may be quoted as curious:—

	£	s.	d.
51 Cows with 43 calves,	165	15	0
1 Bull,	5	5	0
17 Plough oxen at £4 apiece,	68	0	0
20 Stotts and 34 speyed queys of 5 years old, at £3, 10s. apiece,	189	0	0
42 Stotts, 19 speyed queys, and 15 open queys of two year old, at £1, 10s.	114	0	0
57 Small fat stotts at £3,	171	0	0
2 Horses, Dettingen and Marlborough,	20	0	0

* Stair Papers, vol. xxviii.

	£	s.	d.
One English mare and foal,	6	0	0
4 Cart-mares and foals,	20	0	0
5 Work-horses and 1 work-mare,	32	0	0
3 English mares,	18	0	0
3 Small bay mares and 3 do. black,	18	0	0
5 Two-year-old colts and 1 filly,	18	0	0
A small grey horse for going errands,	2	0	0
9 Mules,	18	0	0
4 Colts and 3 fillies, one year old,	14	0	0
12 She-asses (some old) and 3 he-asses,	12	12	0
1409 Sheep at 5/6,	387	9	6
27 Goats at 2/6, with 9 kids,	3	7	6
15 Swine at 7/,	5	5	0

The valuation of the stock amounted in all to £2394, 8s.

Inventory of furniture, &c., in the House at Culhorn.

(An extensive library of books of a standard and useful character is inventoried by volumes.)

China,—

Chiefly blue and white Oriental.

Table Linen, viz.—

Rose-knot, striped knot, old Dutch dornick, "knot for my lady's head," "single rose-knot with my lady's head," &c.

In Cellar,—

	£	s.	d.
16 Dozen Claret at £1 per dozen,	16	0	0
5 Dozen do.,	5	0	0
2 Dozen Small White Wine,	1	12	0
5 Dozen Canary Wine at £1,	5	0	0
3 Hhds. Strong Ale,	4	10	0
1½ Do. Small Beer,	1	0	0

A Service of Plate,—

(Including ink-stand, with ink-hold, bell, and sand-dish)—the silver plate weighing in whole 2824 ounces English, at 4/6 per oz.,	635	0	0

The valuation of the inventory of the furniture, plate, &c., amounting in all to £995, 2s. 8d.

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